

309.154

K147j

v.9

16



LIBRARY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

309.154

K147j

v. 9



Provided by  
The Library of Congress  
Special Foreign Currency Program











***THE  
JOURNAL OF  
KARNATAK  
UNIVERSITY***

**SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**VOL. IX**

**1973**

THE JOURNAL OF KARNATAK UNIVERSITY  
SOCIAL SCIENCES

EDITORIAL BOARD

*Chief Editor*

DR. K. CHANDRASEKHARAI AH

*Members*

Dr. K. V. Vishwanathaiah

Dr. S. H. Ritti

Prof. K. J. Shah

Prin. G. V. Ajjappa

Dr. C. C. Pattanashetti

„ C. S. Bennur

Dr. Gopal Sarana

Dr. T. K. Meti

Dr. S. Settar

Sri C. S. Kanavi (*Member-Secretary*)

The Journal is intended mainly to promote research work by teachers and students of Karnatak University. It contains original papers, review articles and notes and is issued once a year.

*Rate of Subscription:*

Rs. 5 (in India) and \$ 2 or 14 Shillings (foreign).

Remittances should be sent to:

*The Registrar,*

*Karnatak University,*

*Dharwar-3.*

Journals in exchange may be sent to:

*The Librarian,*

*Karnatak University Library,*

*Dharwar-3.*

Books for review and correspondence relating to subscriptions, advertisements, notices of change of address and all other communications should be addressed to:

*The Director,*

*Extension Service and Publications,*

*Karnatak University, Dharwar-3,*

*(Karnatak State), India.*



THE JOURNAL  
OF  
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY  
SOCIAL SCIENCES



Vol. IX

1973

CONTENTS

	Page
1. Co-operative Development and Urban Growth T. K. METI	1
2. The Alleged Compatibility of Platonism and Intuitionism L. C. MULLATTI	19
3. Some reflections on Hindu Institutions, Law and Justice as found in the early Smriti works K. V. VISWANATHAIAH	24
4. A Study of the Relationship between Socio-Economic Status and Academic Achievement of pupils of Rural and Urban High Schools C. S. BENNUR AND D. ABRAHAM	33
5. Youth Unrest: Need for Exploratory Studies K. R. MALLAPPA AND A. S. DHARANENDRIAH	40
6. Problems of Worker-Teachers S. B. YADAVAD	47
7. Impact of Balagangadhar Tilak on Karnataka N. A. PATIL	56

		Page
8. Hardekar Manjappa's vision of free India	S. Y. GUBBANAVAR	63
9. Social Service Camp: A Technique in Community Organization	G. S. BIDARAKOPPA	70
10. Indian Planning and Constitution: Some Thoughts	N. S. HIREMATH	79
11. The Nature of the American Revolution: A Discussion within a Conceptual Framework	V. T. PATIL	88
12. Some Temples of North Dharwar Dt. and the Hoysala Architecture	A. SUNDARA	102
13. Land Succession in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka	G. R. KUPPUSWAMY	113
14. Book Reviews		119



309,154  
K147J  
v.9

## CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN GROWTH\*

T. K. METI

### Introduction

A STUDY of co-operative development in an urban area was motivated with the aim of finding out nature and norm of co-operation that emerge in the process of urbanisation. Generally, the co-operative movement in India was considered to be a rural-minded movement in its early start. But its history shows that the movement has recently assumed wide dimensions. In recent years, the co-operative development has pervaded rural areas as well as urban localities showing to the world that it has bright prospects in developing economies. The activities of co-operatives have become manifested in almost all walks of life. One is therefore inclined to think that co-operative commonwealth is very imminent.

There are numerous studies of co-operative development in rural areas, whereas the study of present kind appears to be novel in more than one way. Firstly, as there is a lot of literature regarding the growth of rural co-operatives, which speaks volumes about trend, strength and traversities of the co-operation in relation to rural economy, the present study extends its scope to have insight into the working of urban co-operative movement.

Secondly, the growth of co-operation in rural areas has social and economic implications which may be different from those of co-operative setting in towns and cities. The necessity of co-operation in rural areas is mainly to cater to large sector like agriculture and subsequently to meet the needs of other non-farm population in a relatively lesser degree. In urban areas, on the other hand, co-operation is necessitated to support and strengthen non-farm occupations and activities which are the main features of urban growth.

Thirdly, the co-operative movement in rural areas is mostly managed by the representatives of less literate people and traditionally restricted ideas, whereas its counterpart in urban areas is generally believed to have attracted more enlightened and educated people. In view of this difference, the study on hand, attempts to understand the tempo and tenacity of the co-operation in the cities.

Fourthly, the Hubli-Dharwar Corporation area is benefited from the existence of district-headquarters of various departments of the

---

\* This forms a part of the research study (carried out and completed by the author): 'A study of Co-operative Development in Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation Area of Karnatak State'.

Government of Karnatak. Besides, the area under report is influenced by the growth of educational institutions like Karnatak University and a number of colleges and high schools. There are well known literary and research institutes such as the Karnatak Historical Research Institute and the Karnatak Vidya Vardhak Sangh. The latter has been serving as an organ of spreading and promoting educational interests of the people in this region. The city of Dharwar has been, since many years, a centre of political leadership. The activities of Karnatak freedom movement in particular and those of the national Independence movement in general in this region have got themselves multiplied and well-managed in this city of Dharwar.

Finally, the city of Hubli enjoyed a unique position of being zonal-headquarters of Southern Railways until very recently. It is also a railway junction. The physical isolation of both the cities was long ago broken and they were exposed to cross-cultivation of new ideas and different cultures. This area also served as a centre of promoting trade, commerce and industrial development. Unlike the interior villages where co-operation was looked upon as a foreign plant, the co-operative movement in these cities developed as an inherent and invariable concomitant of urbanisation.

It is relevant to point out that though the study has tackled certain limited objectives, there is a vast scope for further research in the field of co-operative growth in urban areas.

### **Objectives of the study**

The main objectives of the study are:

- (a) to assess diversification of the movement in different sectors of the urban economy,
- (b) to study integration and co-ordination of different types of co-operatives,
- (c) to ascertain economic viability of different units of co-operation, and
- (d) to analyse the policy implications for the present and future development of urban co-operatives.

### **Method of study**

As it is obvious from the title, the study appraises the working of different types of co-operatives in the Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation area. All the societies were listed according to the official information available at the office of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operatives, Dharwar District, Dharwar. Every attempt has been done to include in the sampling every type of co-operative society. However, certain types of co-operation have been conspicuous by their absence in the sense



that these societies are defunct and some others have been amalgamated with the big size societies. For instance, during the reporting year 1968-69 there are on the register as many as 256 societies of which 146 societies are actually working. Leaving the defunct societies such as Labour Contract Societies, Supervising Unions and other amalgamated societies like Non-agricultural Credit societies, small sized societies etc., the listing covered all other types of societies. The sampling size, however, included 50 societies in all, forming 34.2 per cent of the total working societies i.e., 146.

The information of every society was collected through the specified schedule that consisted of questions pertaining to all objectives of the present study. For every society selected, only three members were contacted in such a manner that one of them being necessarily the president (or vice-president in his absence) of each society, another being a member of management committee and the third being a member of the general body. This representative membership of each type of society for sampling purpose is believed to gather varied experience of the co-operative membership. Out of 50 societies sampled out only one society posed a peculiar problem, that is, an investigator could contact only two members as the president or vice-president of the society was not accessible and available to the investigator during the entire period of investigation.

The number and types of sampled societies in Hubli-Dharwar area are furnished below:

<i>Types of Society</i>	<i>Sampled Societies (number)</i>	<i>Total number of Societies (actually working)</i>
Consumers Co-operative Societies	8	25
Industrial Co-operative Societies	3	4
Milk Supply Societies	4	8
District Co-operative Marketing Federation	1	1
Agricultural Produce Marketing Society	1	1
Gram Seva Sangh	7	9
Housing Societies	6	32
Hubli Co-operative Cotton Sale Society	1	1
Leather Workers' Society	1	1
Machinery Society	2	2
Literary Society	1	1
Co-operative Banks	4	18
Land Development Banks	1	1
Credit Society	9	35
Wool Workers' Society	1	7
	50 (34.2 %)	146 (100.0)

Thus, the number of schedules that were canvassed amounted to 149 for all types of societies in the region concerned. The investigation was conducted in the year 1969-70 especially in the second part of the calendar year 1969. Though an attempt was made to collect the material from the offices of Deputy Registrar of Co-operatives and Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives in Dharwar right from 1951-52 till 1969-70, the available information covered the period from 1960-61 to 1968-69.

### Urban Co-operative Development

The co-operative development in urban areas is believed to have been promoted by the literate people. This has been evidenced by the fact that in Hubli-Dharwar Corporation area as many as 70 per cent of the co-operators who were interviewed are reported to have been educated. Their standard of education ranged from the secondary-school level upto post-graduate level. The percentage of the respondents having collegiate and post-graduate education was only about 17 per cent of the total. The percentage of the illiterate was as insignificant as 2. (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. Educational Standard of the Respondents

<i>Educational level</i>	<i>No. of reporting Co-operators</i>	<i>Percentage to the total interviewed</i>
Illiterate	3	2.0
Primary School	43	28.8
Secondary School	53	35.6
Pre-University Course	4	2.7
Intermediate college course	5	3.4
Degree Course	22	14.8
Post-graduate course	3	2.0
Diploma and Technical course	16	10.7
Total	149	100.0

The semi-literates who have got primary school education formed 28.8 per cent of the total. In general, the membership of the co-operatives in the Hubli-Dharwar area appears to have had better education than that of rural co-operatives.

The occupational structure of the members of concerned co-operative societies shows that 50.2 per cent had agriculture as the main occupation of their families. The people taking to services formed 46.3 per cent. Of the remaining members 2.1 per cent adopted some industrial pursuits and 1.4 per cent followed other occupations as their main occupations. (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Occupation and Income of the Co-operative Membership

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Total Income (Rs)</i>	<i>Income per head (Rs)</i>
Agriculture	75 (50.2)	3,51,600	4,688
Services	69 (46.3)	2,27,256	3,293.5
Industry	3 ( 2.1)	20,000	6,666
Others	2 ( 1.4)	N.A.	N.A.
Total	149 (100)	—	—

N.B. Figures in the brackets indicate percentage.

Though the picture depicted is of the urban co-operative, it is observed that the membership was largely contributed by those taking to agriculture as their main occupation. The co-operative development should therefore make a dent in industrial field in future. Of course, industrialisation in Hubli-Dharwar has just started. Its effects will have gradual bearing on co-operative endeavour when it gets wider base and localization. However, the co-operation has definitely served the service-sector. It is quite natural because along with urbanisation, consumer population in the form of non-agricultural sector develops. In view of rapid industrialisation and expansion of non-agricultural families in future, the co-operative movement loses its grip over the agricultural purposes.

### Members' concern and Involvement in Co-operation

It appears that there is a close correlation between standard of education of members and their understanding of the co-operative spirit and activities. The members who reported their awareness of the aims and objectives of the co-operation amounted to cent per cent. However, 92 per cent of them are fully informed of the purposes of borrowing and the ways of utilization, whereas the remaining are partially aware of the terms and conditions of the loans advanced by the societies. Future development policy of co-operation in urban areas should make all the members informed of the purposes of borrowing and of the ways of utilisation of loans. The loaning policy should give preference to the borrowers' awareness of different purposes and knowledge of the directions in which loans could be utilized. Otherwise, there is every possibility of the loans being misdirected and wasted.



To assess the co-operatives' mutual relationship among themselves following question was asked: Do the different societies function as individual units in isolation? It is found that largely the co-operatives follow their own functions and policies in isolation. These societies appear to be individual units without much bothering about their relationship with other sisterly institutes in the co-operative field. This observation is supported by the fact that of the total members reported, only as low as 27 (18 per cent) members felt that their societies had some relationship with other co-operatives.

In connection with the diversification and expansion of the functions of the co-operatives, 60.4 per cent of the members (90 persons) reported their desire for extending the activities of the co-operatives. But of these, only 44.3 per cent were noticed to have mentioned specific replies regarding the activities in which the co-operatives should expand in future and the difficulties in the way of diversifying the co-operative activities. (See Table 3). This implies that as high as 60 per cent of the total respondents were unaware of the new ways and directions of the diversification of the co-operative movement.

TABLE 3. Diversification of the Co-operative Activities

	<i>No. of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage to the total</i>
Supply of all essential commodities	13	19.7
Milk supply etc.	6	9.1
To increase present activities	7	10.6
Necessity of Govt. Assistance	6	9.1
To provide more loans	8	12.1
Opening factories and manufacturing industries	16	24.2
Poultry and cattle breeding	5	7.6
Lack of funds	5	7.6
Total	66	100.0

Though 19.7 per cent of the responded members give preference for supply of all the essential commodities and services and 24.2 per cent show their preference for opening manufacturing industries and other factories, some policy implications are obvious. One is that, there is a scope for meeting essential commodities and services arising from urbanization process. Second is that, in urban centres people wish to have industrial and manufacturing pursuits which go a long way to cope up with the urbanization.

The decision-taking process is an indicator of entrepreneurial capacity of the co-operatives. The more collective is the decision, the better is the functioning of the co-operatives. It should not be a monopoly of any individual associated with the co-operative organization. Neither is the government's directive fully binding, nor president's or secretary's discretion will be a guiding one. The co-operation implies that each member of co-operative is expected to be responsible for all decisions. Hence, two alternatives are open for doing so. One is, general body meeting takes decisions or alternatively managing committee is supposed to take the decisions subject to the approval of the general body in due course. See Table 4 for further details.

TABLE 4. Decision-taking by the Co-operative Societies

(Number of respondents)

	R A N K I N G			
	I	II	III	IV
Managing Committee	96 (64.4)	43 (28.8)	7 (4.7)	— ( 0.0)
General Body Meeting (members consultation)	43 (28.8)	45 (30.1)	15 (10.1)	1 ( 0.7)
President/Secretary	9 ( 6.0)	46 (30.1)	58 (38.9)	1 ( 0.7)
Govt. Official	— ( 0.0)	8 ( 5.4)	5 ( 3.3)	11 ( 7.4)
No reply	1 ( 0.8)	7 ( 5.7)	64 (43.0)	136 (91.2)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

The data collected show that 64.4 per cent of the total members (149) express their first preference for taking the decision by the management committee and about 29 per cent give first preference to that of the general body meeting. Among second preferences, all the three agencies carry equal weight being 29 per cent of members for the managing committee, 30 per cent of them for the general body meeting and 30.1 per cent of the total members prefer president's or secretary's decision and only 8 members (5.4 per cent) like government officials' decisions if possible. Of the third preferences, as many as 38 per cent of the total members wish to have president's or secretary's decisions.

Regarding the borrowing and utilising the co-operative loans, only 25.4 per cent of the total members are reported to have borrowed. Fortunately, the borrowings have been utilised for the purposes for which

the members borrowed. It shows that in the urban areas misutilisation of the co-operative loans appears to be negligible. However, the co-operative loans benefit only one-fourth of the total members. This perhaps explains that the loans from the agencies in addition to the co-operatives are availed of by the co-operators.

In respect of the purposes for which loans are borrowed, borrowing for domestic purposes is more common. Of 38 members (25.4 per cent) who borrowed, 11 per cent borrowed for domestic purposes, 7 per cent for agricultural development and about 4 per cent each for business and construction respectively. In future, the two activities like business and construction grow more important as urbanisation and industrial activities get strong hold of the area. Consequently, the co-operative policy should encourage borrowing for such purposes.

The members who borrowed from the co-operatives have not cleared off their out-standings and overdue. The total outstandings amount to Rs 27,311.00, being Rs 718.70 per head. However, these people have expressed their willingness to repay the dues in instalments.

Regarding the difficulties in making use of the co-operative finance and other services, only 52 members accounting for 35 per cent of the total membership have responded. Of 52 members, 18 members expressed that they had no difficulty whereas 9 persons pointed out that members' non-cooperation came in the way and 14 persons rightly mentioned that non-clearance of the dues served a great bottleneck in the smooth functioning of the co-operatives.

### **Integration and Co-ordination of the Co-operative Movement**

There appears to be a general consensus of opinion among the respondent members for favour of co-ordination of the co-operative movement, when as many as 49 persons (33 per cent of the total 149) give first preference to the co-ordinated policy. Even among those giving second preferences, as many as 28 per cent of the reported members are in favour of good co-ordination policy (see Table 5).

Besides, among the total members canvassed for purpose of assessing the integration of co-operative movement, as many as 61.4 per cent (92 members) expressed their liking for both types of integration (vertical and horizontal). These observations are enough to indicate that at present the co-ordination and integration of the co-operatives in the Hubli-Dharwar area are not properly followed. It is quite obvious that co-ordination and integration enhance the efficient functioning of different co-operatives. The process of integration may take place in more than one way. It may be vertical integration or horizontal one or both depending upon the circumstances that obtain in the concerned region. There are a number of measures by which the integration can be realized,



TABLE 5. Necessity of Co-ordination

(Number of respondents)

Items	R A N K I N G					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Common President	16 (10.7)	5 (3.3)	21 (14.1)	10 (6.7)	1 (0.7)	—
Common Management	11 (7.4)	4 (2.7)	4 (2.7)	—	—	—
Common Secretary	3 (2.0)	2 (1.3)	2 (1.3)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	—
Co-ordination policy	49 (32.9)	41 (27.5)	12 (8.1)	2 (1.3)	—	—
Common liaison	3 (2.0)	12 (8.1)	21 (14.1)	4 (2.7)	3 (2.0)	—
Legislation	39 (26.2)	40 (26.8)	12 (8.1)	1 (0.7)	—	3 (2.0)
No reply (number)	28 (18.8)	45 (30.3)	77 (51.6)	128 (85.9)	144 (96.6)	146 (97.0)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total (149)

To mention some of such measures, (a) formation of common advisory committee for all types of societies is one measure, (b) participation in the financial assets of each type of society by another type of society forms second measure, (c) nomination of each type of society in the management of another type of society serves next measure and (d) there are a few more ways of integration as can be seen in Tables 6 and 7. Out of 149 members, only 114 members expressed their views about the measures of integration of the cooperative movement. Of 114 members giving their preferences for vertical integration, as many as 84 members (73.7 per cent) gave their first preference to the financial participation and 40 persons (36 per cent of the reported members) gave second preference to the advisory committee. In respect of horizontal integration again, 54.4 per cent (81 persons) gave first preference to the financial participation, whereas 37.7 per cent (56 persons) expressed their second preference to the formation of advisory committee.

It is thus quite clear that vertical and horizontal integration of the co-operatives is feasible if financial participation and proper advice are given to the co-operatives. The bureau of market intelligence as a means

TABLE 6. Vertical Integration

(Number of respondents)

Items	R A N K I N G						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Nominees of different societies in management	7 (4.7)	10 (6.7)	11 (7.4)	7 (4.7)	5 (3.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Financial participation	84 (56.4)	14 (9.4)	6 (4.0)	4 (2.7)	2 (1.3)	—	1 (0.7)
Advisory Committee	8 (5.4)	40 (26.8)	16 (10.7)	10 (6.7)	3 (2.0)	—	—
Marketing intelligence	10 (6.7)	28 (18.8)	20 (13.4)	10 (6.7)	10 (6.7)	1 (0.7)	—
Legal Hierarchy	2 (1.3)	3 (2.0)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	—
Administrative hierarchy	2 (1.3)	4 (2.7)	11 (7.4)	19 (12.7)	15 (10.1)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)
Common transactions	1 (0.7)	12 (8.1)	29 (19.5)	26 (17.4)	11 (7.4)	—	—
No reply (Percentage)	35 (22.5)	38 (26.5)	52 (46.9)	72 (48.4)	102 (72.5)	142 (95.3)	146 (97.9)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total (149).

TABLE 7. Horizontal Integration

(Number of respondents)

Measures	R A N K I N G						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Nominees of different societies in management	4 (2.7)	7 (4.7)	15 (10.1)	2 (1.3)	5 (3.3)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)
Financial arrangement	81 (54.4)	9 (6.0)	2 (1.3)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	—
Common Advisory Body	11 (7.4)	56 (37.6)	8 (5.4)	8 (5.4)	4 (2.7)	—	—
Market intelligence	8 (5.4)	20 (13.4)	25 (16.8)	10 (6.7)	11 (7.4)	1 (0.7)	—
Legal recognition	—	2 (1.3)	5 (3.3)	5 (3.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)
Administrative provision	2 (1.3)	8 (5.4)	23 (15.4)	29 (19.5)	13 (8.7)	1 (0.7)	—
Common transaction	—	6 (4.0)	32 (21.5)	35 (23.5)	16 (10.7)	2 (1.3)	—
No reply (percentage)	43 (28.8)	41 (27.6)	39 (25.2)	58 (39.0)	98 (65.8)	139 (93.2)	146 (98.0)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total (149).

of integration is in no way neglected as 24 to 26 per cent of the reported members in total expressed their second preference to this aspect. Of course, the market-intelligence following to all the co-operatives without any obstacle increases the entrepreneurial capacity of the co-operatives. The co-operative development policy would therefore include in future such measures as arranging for financial interlocking among the co-operatives, creation of advisory body and setting up of bureau of market-intelligence, so that all co-operatives progress with strength and entrepreneurial ability.

### **Economic Viability**

The co-operatives appear not to have attracted more deposits from the members, as only 22 members (14.8 per cent) of the total (149) deposited their savings in the different co-operative societies. The remaining 85 per cent of the members are believed to have kept in these societies no deposits except their individual shares. However, in all 71 persons (47.6 per cent of the total members) have responded to our question on deposit mobilization. Of these respondents, 24 members were unable to keep the deposits, 16 members reported their ignorance about the provision of keeping deposits in the co-operatives, two members believed that because of no compulsion in this context they did not care to do so; six members expressed that there was no necessity and no use of keeping deposits in the co-operatives. These considerations show that majority of respondents are unable to keep deposits due to one reason or the other especially due to their inability to do so. However, it was observed that if proper knowledge and inducement were made known to them, some more members could have come forward to keep their deposits in the co-operatives. As the deposit mobilization increases the viability of the co-operatives, the co-operative policy should aim at creating suitable atmosphere so that the members of co-operatives would come forth to keep their deposits in the co-operative societies.

Regarding other measures of increasing financial strength of the co-operatives, it was observed that 67 persons forming 45 per cent of the total members opined that the members should be induced to contribute more and more to the share capital of the co-operatives. The next measure was to increase the transactions and activities of the co-operatives as 26.2 per cent of the total members hinted at this measure. See Table 8.

It was further notified that 51 per cent of the total members stressed the share participation of the state to be inevitable for the development of the co-operatives. Again about 46 members (31 per cent of the total membership) agreed to invite deposits from outside persons and institutions. Unfortunately, all of them were not able to explain how such outside deposits could be managed or accommodated in the working of the



TABLE 8. Measures to Increase Financial Strength of the Co-operatives

(Number of respondents)

<i>Measures</i>	R A N K I N G			
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
Rise in share capital	67 (45.0)	55 (36.9)	16 (10.7)	2 (1.3)
Increasing profits	21 (14.1)	45 (30.2)	32 (21.5)	16 (10.7)
More transactions	39 (36.2)	33 (22.1)	53 (35.6)	2 (1.3)
Borrowings	21 (14.1)	12 (8.1)	18 (12.1)	17 (11.4)
No reply	1 (0.6)	4 (2.7)	30 (2.1)	119 (75.3)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

co-operatives. Further, 75 persons (being 50.3 per cent) were in favour of linking credit or loans with either crops or with marketing of the produce or with some other transactions. This sort of loaning policies was believed by them to improve the recovery position of the co-operatives.

### Urban Growth and Co-operative Development

A general belief that urbanization is conducive to rapid development of co-operation was tested with the queries such as (a) does urbanization call for more services or facilities from the co-operatives? (b) does co-operative movement get proper co-operation of local governments? (c) do the co-operatives run smoothly due to urban centres being headquarters of taluk and district level offices? (d) does the urbanization create more demand for co-operative loans to meet long-term needs? The information collected, in the first instance, regarding query (a) indicates that the supply of essential goods is to be increased, home delivery of such goods is desirable, honest and efficient administration of the co-operatives is emphasized and rates at which services or goods made available by the co-operatives should be reasonable and in no case such rates should be more than the prevailing market-rates.

In respect of query (b), the local governments are believed to be favourable for the development of co-operatives. For example, of the total respondents only 12 persons reported that their co-operatives had some difficulty with the local government i.e., municipal corporation

office. The working of co-operatives is observed to be made easy in urban centres mainly due to banking facilities, marketing facilities and road development. These three facilities therefore each claimed 24 per cent, 20 per cent and 14 per cent of the first preferences of the respondents. (see Table 9). These preferences score highest numbers among all the canvassed opinions. Even in respect of second preferences, these three reasons score preferences individually more than any other reason. Of 81 persons reported for a query on the need for loans, 37 persons expressed that long term loans were required in an increasing amount to carry on bulk purchases and to establish industries etc.

TABLE 9. Reasons of Smooth Working of Co-operatives in Urban Centre  
(Number of respondents)

Reasons/Rankings	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Road development	21 (14.1)	21 (14.1)	17 (11.4)	10 (6.7)	9 (6.1)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	-	2 (1.3)
Official advice	10 (6.7)	10 (6.7)	6 (4.0)	9 (6.1)	5 (3.3)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	-
District level access	8 (5.4)	4 (2.7)	7 (4.7)	4 (2.7)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.3)	-	3 (2.0)	-
Marketing facility	30 (20.1)	33 (22.1)	34 (22.8)	16 (10.7)	3 (2.0)	-	1 (0.7)	-	-
Easy housing of the office	9 (6.1)	23 (15.4)	11 (7.4)	10 (6.7)	14 (9.4)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-
Banking facility	36 (24.2)	29 (19.5)	34 (22.8)	15 (10.1)	7 (4.7)	8 (5.4)	2 (1.3)	-	-
Legal consultation	2 (1.3)	2 (1.3)	8 (5.4)	4 (2.7)	2 (1.3)	4 (2.7)	7 (4.7)	-	3 (2.0)
Good leadership	19 (12.8)	9 (6.1)	13 (8.1)	34 (22.8)	19 (13.0)	3 (2.0)	5 (3.3)	7 (4.7)	-
Co-operation	4 (2.7)	5 (3.3)	7 (4.7)	21 (14.1)	16 (10.7)	10 (6.7)	2 (1.3)	4 (2.7)	4 (2.7)
No reply	19 (9.6)	13 (8.8)	12 (8.7)	26 (17.4)	71 (47.5)	116 (77.1)	128 (87.0)	132 (88.6)	142 (93.0)
Total	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)	149 (100)

Figures in the brackets indicate the percentages.

### The Working of Sampled Societies

In the Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation area there were 199 societies of whose audit reports were maintained in the year 1967-68 and as many as 50 societies were selected randomly for our survey. During 1967-68, the total membership of all societies in the Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation area was 62,632 and that of sampled societies amounted to 34,715 being more than 50 per cent of the total.

As per the Table 10, the large figure of profits per society can be explained by the huge profits of the District Central Co-operative Bank (KCC Bank) that alone accounted for more than 70 per cent of the total profits of all societies in the area under report. However, the large size of the loss figures per society was perhaps attributable to the overall losses of the credit societies that amounted to 97 per cent of the total losses of all the societies sampled out.

TABLE 10. Comparative Position of the Sampled Co-operatives in relation to Total Number of Societies in Hubli-Dharwar Corporation Area in 1967-68.

<i>Items</i>	<i>All societies (Rs per member)</i>	<i>Sampled Societies (Rs per member)</i>	<i>Percentage of the sampled societies to every item under the column No. 1 of all the societies</i>
1	2	3	4
Working capital	4387	6,643	84.8
Share capital	246	361	82.0
Deposits	776	1,327	95.6
Loans advanced	1147	1,813	88.5
Dues	329	471	71.5
Profits	5870	20,156	90.0
Loss	6953	25,253	91.3

Though the selection of the sampled societies forms about one-fourth of total number of audited societies, their membership works out to more than 50 per cent of the total of all societies in Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation area. Similarly, other indicators of the working of co-operatives amply show that the sampled societies claim more appreciation as compared to the general picture of co-operatives in the area concerned. However, as already mentioned, the sampled societies include District (Karnatak) Co-operative Central Bank whose share capital, working capital and deposits perhaps increase the average figures per sampled society. But one thing is quite conspicuous, that is, the average dues of a sampled society are definitely above those of an average society in the overall complex of the area. For instance, the dues per member of the sampled society are Rs 471 which are more than those (Rs 329) of each



society on an average in the area under report. The sampled societies therefore seem to work more efficiently in future than at present when the dues are reduced. Hence, the necessary measures are to be taken to reduce mounting dues of the co-operative societies in general.

## **Future Policy**

The findings of present study go a long way to shape future development policy of the co-operatives in the urban areas. It is observed that the co-operative movement in Hubli-Dharwar area has been the endeavour of the literate people. Of the total co-operators interviewed as high as 70 per cent are better educated in a sense they reported to have studied above primary level. This aspect is also amply reflected in the awareness of the members regarding aims and objectives of the co-operation. However, it is to be pointed out that the co-operators lack in the co-operative education though most of them have undergone the formal education. It is therefore necessary to give co-operative education and training to the members of co-operatives so that the principles of co-operation and the promotion of co-operatives are better realized.

An analysis of occupational structure of the co-operative membership indicates that of the total membership as many as 75 members (52.2 per cent) take to agriculture as main occupation and 69 members (46.3 per cent) follow services. This implies that the co-operation even in urban area like Hubli-Dharwar has not impressed the people following industry, trade and commerce. The co-operation in urban area should spread so as to promote industrial activities, trade and commerce which are natural outcome of urbanization.

For a question like: are the different co-operative societies operating as individual units in isolation? The opinions thus collected favour the development of individual co-operatives independent of each other. Of the total members responded, only 27 members (18 per cent) have told that their co-operatives have some sort of relationship with other co-operatives. This shows that the co-operatives are not mutually reinforcing or interdependent. For the sound development of co-operative movement, future policy needs to be developed on the lines of encouraging mutual dependence and group-or-cluster development of different societies. In this context, it is worth quoting Prof. D. R. Gadgil, the then Deputy Chairman of Indian Planning Commission, when he stresses that the co-operation should develop as a system rather than individual units for achieving specific objectives. 'So long as we are thinking of co-operation in terms of primary level or separate units we do not go far enough. We have to think in terms of co-operative system, in terms of social responsibility, in terms of redistribution ultimately of the gains and profit

within the total systems. Thus, there is considerable need for modification of the older ideas and for thinking in terms, not of the Unit merely at the organizational level but the possibility of the system as a whole. It is only when we do so, we shall be able to fulfil all sorts of expectations that have been aroused by the system of co-operatives. We have to think and decide how best the Co-operative System can achieve the larger goals'.<sup>1</sup>

It is also observed that the co-operatives have followed limited functions when as many as 90 persons (60.4 per cent) reported their desires for expansion of the co-operative activities. This shows that there is a great scope for co-operative expansion in the fields of industry and commerce. Thus in the urban areas, the goals of co-operation should be to expand industrial activities and commercial net-work.

The decision-making process of the co-operatives appears to have been managed by the managing committee as 64.4 per cent of the total members are reported to have told so. However, as mentioned earlier, co-operative education is believed to have influenced the members of managing committee very much less. This lack of co-operative education on the part of managing committee members perhaps eclipses the formation of efficient decisions. Besides, the gap in the relationship between general body meeting and managing committee widens and comes in the way of responsible involvement of all members in the co-operative functions. This aspect may lead to adverse effects and dampen the zeal of cooperation. Thus, efficiency may be assured in the decision-making process by way of effectively imparting co-operative education to the members of managing committee as well as to the other members of the general body.

Integration and co-ordination of the co-operatives are undoubtedly welcomed by most of the co-operators as 61.4 per cent of the reported members have expressed their preferences for both types of integration—vertical and horizontal. The co-ordination policy needs to be developed on the lines of measures aiming at vertical and horizontal integration of the co-operation. Two measures of integration are prominently mentioned by the respondent members. One is financial participation of one society into the financial assets of the others or financial interlocking in between the societies. Second is to have a common advisory board for all the co-operatives. The first measure appears to be novel in a sense that there is a necessity of institutional membership by way of purchasing shares of one co-operative society by another type of a society as an institution. Alternatively, the financial participation may also be realized contributing certain percentage of the total share capital of one society by the other. Future co-operative development policy should therefore be framed on the lines of this financial interlocking so that co-operative vigilance would be prompted among the co-operators in general. The fact that one society

<sup>1</sup> *Co-operative News Digest*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, April 1970, p. 56.

is involved directly or indirectly into the affairs of the other, ensures mutual checking or mutual watch and ward. This is very essential in the same locality wherein many societies function simultaneously. The members of co-operatives of any type begin taking interest in the affairs of whole movement rather than being involved in only one society or another as at present. Over and above this method, common advisory board is to be established for sake of technical and expert advice. The advisory body needs to be represented by almost all types of co-operatives so that different interests will be fully voiced and protected. Though there are district co-operative unions at present, they do not wield that much inter-influencing or interfusing the co-operative one-ness. Future co-operative policy should therefore strengthen the district co-operative unions and the taluka supervising unions. In Hubli-Dharwar area, the taluka supervising unions are no more functioning though their names are not erased in the list of co-operatives for Dharwar district. These unions are expected to spread market-intelligence, impart co-operative education, build research cell for developing innovational spirit and improvement methods of co-operation and act as expert advisory bodies at the district level and taluka level. It may be further suggested that for each urban centre or industrial centre there must be a separate advisory union to concentrate on the problems of co-operative development in the concerned cities or industrial centres.

To ensure economic viability of the co-operatives, suitable incentives and atmosphere may be created to attract more deposits from the members as well as from the outsiders of the co-operative fold. For this, State participation in the share capital of the societies is not ruled out. In addition some other measures are suggested. Firstly, the amount of each share is to be raised. Secondly, deposits of the outsiders need to be attracted and accommodated safely in the financial structure of the co-operatives. Thirdly, the co-operatives should make profits so that more transactions of the co-operatives are financed by these profits. Fourthly, security of the deposits is to be guaranteed to the depositors through proper modification in the co-operative policy in concurrence of the Reserve Bank of India or the Government. Fifthly, linking of credit either with produce or with marketing of products or with some other transactions should be effectively pursued. Finally, all the co-operatives should maintain proper accounts and should be inspected or audited from time to time.

It is quite gratifying that the urban growth is conducive to co-operative progress. The co-operatives have lot of scope to further their activities in a growing urban centre. The existence of local government like Municipal Corporation has also provided congenial atmosphere for co-operative development. The working of co-operatives has been facilitated



by banking institutions, marketing facilities, and creation of physical and social infra-structure. New challenging tasks for the urban co-operatives are (a) construction of houses (b) establishment of industries, (c) promotion of trade and commerce through wholesale consumer stores, and (d) others.

The remarks of a leading co-operator of the world about the role of co-operation in modernizing economy may be cited to support our findings. He observes: 'The future role of co-operatives is one of challenge. I believe . . . that co-operatives are a means to an end, not an end in themselves. This end must be that human welfare is of supreme importance—of more importance than things, or money. To reach this end co-operatives must attempt to improve the social and economic welfare of people'.<sup>2</sup> To do this effectively, co-operatives must do as Mr Turner points out, the following things—'this is their role: to clearly define their objectives and goals and organize their activities to meet these; to attack problems at the greatest advantage, and to involve people.'

<sup>2</sup> Mr E. K. Turner, President, Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, Canada, *Co-operative News Digest*, Vol. XXI, No. 7, July 1970, RBI., pp. 111-112 (taken from *Canadian Co-operative Digest*.)

## THE ALLEGED COMPATIBILITY OF PLATONISM AND INTUITIONISM

L. C. MULLATTI

IN a well-known article, Bernays argues for a compromise between Platonism and intuitionism. 'They complement each other', he says (1935: 284)<sup>1</sup>, 'and it would be doing oneself violence to renounce one or the other'. However, he holds that both Platonism and intuitionism make extensive and unwarranted claims, and have to be whittled down before they are accepted.

Take for instance Platonism. By setting up a whole range of abstract entities like sets, sequences, functions, numbers, etc., it ambitiously undertakes to deduce the whole of mathematics from logic (Barker 1964: 81)<sup>2</sup>. As is now known, this project was foiled by the discovery of the paradoxes of set-theory. Any attempt to avoid the paradoxes and to patch up set-theory destroys the character of pure logic claimed for set-theory by the proponents of Platonism. For instance, in the case of Russell's theory of types the axiom of infinity and the axiom of reducibility go far beyond pure logic. Similar things could be said about Zermelo's solution to the set-paradoxes, which denies the unrestricted validity of the Cantorian principle of set-abstraction (Barker 1964:90). Von Neumann's solution also which seeks to restrict the range of sets by restricting elementhood amounts, in effect, to Zermelo's solution, and therefore, is open to the same sort of objection. Bernays (1935:285) also urges that logicism<sup>3</sup> has the further drawback that its initial assumption that the universe is divided neatly into individuals and 'predicates' is a non-logical assumption.

Even if we grant, for the sake of argument, that the difficulties of set-theory could somehow be overcome, Platonism cannot hope to incorporate all of arithmetic, let alone all of mathematics. Godel's incompleteness result has forever destroyed such a hope. According to that result, whatever the formal system chosen to represent arithmetic, there are always bound to be certain well-formed formulas which are not captured by that system, i.e., neither they nor their contradictories are provable in the system.

Because of difficulties such as these, the logical project of deriving mathematics from logic is not realizable. Bernays suggests (1935:283) 'that the desire to deduce arithmetic from logic derives from the traditional opinion that the relation of logic and arithmetic is that of general to

particular. The truth, it seems to me, is that mathematical abstraction does not have a lesser degree than logical abstraction, but rather another direction'.

The difficulties of Platonism need not lead to its total rejection, however, as Bernays is anxious to point out. If it is shorn of its ambitions and of some of the abstract entities introduced for the realization of those ambitions, it is quite legitimate and is in fact 'so widespread that it is not an exaggeration to say that Platonism reigns today in mathematics'. This trimmed variety of Platonism Bernays calls restricted Platonism or semi-Platonism, while the untrimmed variety is called absolute Platonism. Bernays does not explicitly spell out the distinction between the two versions of Platonism beyond saying that absolute Platonism 'is conceptual realism postulating the existence of a world of ideal objects containing all the objects and relations of mathematics' (1935:277), while restricted Platonism 'does not claim to be more than, so to speak, an ideal projection of a domain of thought' (1935:277). This scanty characterization of semi-Platonism does not imply, I take it, that it altogether renounces abstract entities. The difficulties of set-theory refute only absolute Platonism, but leave untouched restricted Platonism.

Intuitionism is a reaction against the idealizing tendencies of absolute Platonism. Unlike Platonism, it makes the existence of mathematical entities dependent on the thinking mind. It eliminates Platonism in arithmetic by first replacing the concepts of a set, a sequence, and a function by constructive concepts, and by rejecting the idea of a totality of integers. But the problem with intuitionism is that it cannot account for all of (classical) mathematics. While it preserves all the essential theorems in the theory of integers and algebraic numbers, it has to reject a number of usual theorems in analysis and considerable parts of set-theory. And most important of all, it rejects the law of excluded middle.

Once again, the inability of intuitionism to account for the whole of mathematics does not mean that it has to be rejected *in toto*. A restricted intuitionism which does not aspire to explain the whole of mathematics is, Bernays argues, quite legitimate and is most naturally suited for certain parts of mathematics, as restricted Platonism is suited for certain other parts. Restricted intuitionism is best suited for the theory of numbers. The concept of number is of intuitive origin, but the idea of totality is superimposed. In number theory intuitive concepts can be avoided only at the cost of making the theory more complicated, i.e., by bringing in notions like proposition, function, arbitrary correspondence, etc., which are not objectively defined, and which could be made more definite only in terms of a complicated system of axioms.

However, for the geometric theory of continuum, intuitionism is inadequate. The idea of space, Bernays thinks, is Platonistic and the



intuitionist procedures for constructing figures are based on it. Because of the primordial character of space, Platonism can best handle it. If intuitionism persists in embracing the whole of mathematics, it goes beyond intuitive evidence, and takes as its basis dubitable and dispensable propositions.

So, in order to have a satisfactory account of mathematics in general, one has to have, according to Bernays, both Platonistic and intuitionist concepts in their legitimate measure. Great caution has to be exercised in the selection especially of Platonistic concepts in view of the far-reaching difficulties encountered in unrestricted Platonism. The only guiding factor in this regard would be the consistency of the consequences of the concepts in question.

Has this compromise between Platonism and intuitionism, proposed by Bernays, been accepted in general? Has it produced satisfactory results in the actual practice of mathematicians? My purpose is not to try to answer these questions of mathematical expertise, but rather to raise a philosophical question, namely: Is Bernays's proposal philosophically, as against mathematically, tenable? This question is relevant in the evaluation of Bernays's article, because as is now generally agreed (Quine 1961:14-15)<sup>4</sup>, the mathematical theories of logicism, intuitionism and formalism originally stem from the philosophical schools of realism, conceptualism, and nominalism regarding the nature of universals, and therefore, any proposal regarding a compromise between the two schools of mathematics involves the deeper question of the compatibility of the corresponding philosophical schools. The problem of universals first arose, I believe, as a semantic problem. Proper names and other singular names denote an object, and the justification of their use was easily found in this fact. Also, unaware of the later distinction between sense and reference, some philosophers of the medieval (and later) times concluded that the meaning of a word was its object. However, this presented a problem regarding general words. Since there is no single object which they denote, the need was felt to account for the fact of their meaningful use. The solution (represented most notably by Plato, but also implicit in most rationalist thinkers) that realism advocated was that since there are no single concrete objects corresponding to general words, there must be abstract entities which they signify, and which constitute their meaning. Thus, an ontology of abstract entities came to be recognised as a solution to what was primarily a semantic problem. Presumably, had the distinction between sense and reference been clearly grasped, such an ontology would have been avoided. (Frege, of course, embraces such an ontology despite the distinction, but for different reasons).

The other two views on the problem of universals, viz., conceptualism and nominalism, represented by philosophers like Locke and Kant on the one hand, and by Berkeley, Hume, and several contemporary empiricist philosophers on the other, are a reaction to realism. Conceptualism holds that universals are mental entities existing in the minds of thinkers; they have no absolute or independent existence. General words derive their meaning from signifying these mental entities. The same confusion of sense with reference that vitiates realism vitiates in a different way this view also. Nominalism, however, repudiates that the meaning of a word is its object, and holds that general words do not signify anything abstract, and that they derive their meaning from the fact that they are used arbitrarily to stand for any one of a whole range of particular objects. Nominalism thus comes closest to realizing that naming is a much more specific feature of linguistic entities than meaning (Quine 1961:10-12).

Contemporary theories of mathematics amount to an extension of the medieval theories of universals. For, they are primarily concerned not with general (mathematical) words but with those singular words which do not have denotation in the usual manner. All the three mathematical theories, it seems, take a nominalist stand on the use of general mathematical words. Even logicism, except in the Fregean version of full-blooded Platonism, does not have to take a realist position regarding mathematical universals. However, its stand on singular mathematical words, namely, that they name abstract entities, seems to be determined by the same sort of considerations that determine a realist position on the nature of universals. The entities that singular mathematical words name are totally independent of the thinking subject, and timeless. As it is said, they can only be discovered, but not invented. The intuitionist position, on the other hand, is that these entities are mind-dependent. There is an apparent difficulty in understanding how any thing can be mental, and yet not subjective, as the intuitionists are careful to emphasize. Kant tried to solve this difficulty by declaring that the human mind has certain objective features which determine the character of all our knowledge, whether *a posteriori* or *a priori*. The objectivity of the mental entities that are mathematical is due to the fact that they are generated solely by the universal factors in the constitution of the human mind. This is presumably one of the reasons why mathematical intuitionists take Kant, more than any other conceptualist, as their predecessor, though while Kant talks of two forms of intuition namely time and space, intuitionists accept only one form of intuition, namely, that of time.

Given this philosophical background of Platonism and intuitionism, is Bernays's proposal of a compromise between the two tenable? Are the two compatible, and can they combine into a harmonious whole?

I think it is clear that they cannot. Restricted Platonism either recognises abstract independent entities, or it does not. In the latter case, there is no criterion left by which to identify it as Platonism. In the former case, it allows its bound variables to range over such entities among others, and the proposal amounts to saying that some mathematical entities are independent while some are not, though both belong to the same logical category (or type). This in itself is a philosophically uncomfortable position. But in addition, there is the further and more serious consequence that the proposal jeopardizes the alleged eternity of that part of mathematics that would rest on intuitionism (for example, the theory of numbers). If it is the human mind that is responsible for mathematical truths, it certainly is conceivable that these truths may change as the human mind changes in the course of its evolution. Yet, a mathematical truth is said to be beyond any change, or to hold in all possible worlds. Those parts of mathematics that rest on Platonism, (e.g., the theory of continuum) would, however, retain their prestigious position of eternity. Considerations such as these, it seems, render any compromise between Platonism and intuitionism philosophically untenable. I wish to stress the word 'philosophically'; for it is quite conceivable that such a compromise might work quite well in practice. But practical success is no guarantee of theoretical soundness. Perhaps, the difficulties raised above regarding Bernays's proposal could be tackled along the Quinean lines (cp. the 'Two Dogmas') which in turn has its own difficulties. However, it is not clear whether an attempt at such tackling is made. Without such an attempt and without knowing its result, it is hard to agree that Bernays's proposal is philosophically sound.

#### NOTES

1. Bernays, Paul (1935): 'On Platonism in Mathematics'. In Benacerraf, Paul and Hilary Putnam (eds) (1964): *Philosophy of Mathematics*. Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. (Page-references are to Benacerraf and Putnam).
2. Barker, Stephen F. (1964): *Philosophy of Mathematics*. Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J.
3. Platonism and intuitionism are also called logicism and constructivism respectively. Bernays has little to say about formalism which is the third theory of the nature of mathematics.
4. Quine, W. V. (1961): *From a Logical Point of View*. Second revised edition. Harper and Row, New York.



## SOME REFLECTIONS ON HINDU INSTITUTIONS, LAW AND JUSTICE AS FOUND IN THE EARLY SMRITI WORKS

K. V. VISWANATHAIAH

THE Aswamedha sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra Sunga may be taken as the signal for the renaissance of Hinduism. It may be said to usher the Epic Age during which the Ramayana and the Mahabharata received their final shape as didactic epics. To this Epic Age belong the code of Manu and the code of Yājñavalkya. Manu Smṛiti may be said to be one of the oldest works<sup>1</sup>. Mr J. Jolly who represents the older school of scholars<sup>2</sup> and Shri P. V. Kane<sup>3</sup>, the latest writer on the subject have expressed different views regarding the date of Yājñavalkya Smṛiti. According to Mr J. Jolly, Yājñavalkya Smṛiti belongs to fourth century A.D. but according to Shri P. V. Kane, it belongs to the period A.D. 100-300. Besides these two Smṛiti works, there are also other Smṛiti works. In the Bhavishya Purāṇa, thirty-six Smṛiti works have been mentioned<sup>4</sup>. But here only Manu-Smṛiti and Yājñavalkya Smṛiti will be dealt with.

One should note the difference between Śruti and Smṛiti. The Vedas are known as 'Śruti' and the Dharma-sastras are known as 'Smṛitis'. Smṛiti is also called traditional law. Generally, the Smṛiti deals with the origin of the world and social order, the duties of persons in four stages of life, those of the king and his officials, those of the subjects, husband and wife, civil law, criminal law and justice, war, inter-state relations, public security, various forms of penances and some philosophical doctrines. With the exception of Manu and Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Brihaspati Smṛitis, the Smṛitis as a rule do not treat of 'Vyavahara'.

Yājñavalkya Smṛiti is founded on Manu. It is very concise when compared to Manu Smṛiti. It represents a later stage of Hindu development. It is very popular. Its treatment of the subject matter is very comprehensive. Although this Smṛiti is not mentioned for any Yuga, still it is very popular like Manu-Smṛiti. It has also become a very important Smṛiti. There are several known commentaries on this Smṛiti

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Majumdar: *The History and Culture of the Indian People The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol. II (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1968), p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jolly (Translated by Dr B. K. Ghosh): *Hindu Law and Custom* (Calcutta, 1928).

<sup>3</sup> P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasastra in five volumes*, 1930-58, Vol. II, Part I (1941), p. xi. (B.O.R.I., Poona).

<sup>4</sup> See *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, Book I, Translated by Late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyarnava (The Panini Office, Bhuvaneswara Ashrama, Bahadur Ganj), (Allahabad, 1918), p. II.

like Apārārka, Viswarūpa, Vijnānēswara, Mitra Mishra and Sūla Pāni. But the commentary of Vijnānēswara has surpassed the others and under the name of Riju-Mitāksara or Mitāksara, it has become well-known. The Mitāksara is accepted as authoritative at present by the Hindus.

One should study the Smriti works to know the Hindu institutions and law. An attempt has been made in this research paper to find out to what extent the early Brahmanical Smritis and Arthasastra influenced both Maṇu-Smriti and Yājñavalkya Smriti and how these two Smritis have dealt with the Hindu institutions and law and justice.

I. *Ideas of Social Order:* Manu's social order follow the lines laid down in the Dharma-sāstra. Manu says, 'with a view to the development of the (three) regions (Celestial, Terrestrial and Subterranean) God brought into existence the Brahmana, the Ksatriya, the Vaishya and the Sudra from out of his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively'.<sup>5</sup> With a view to the protection of the entire creation (Sic.) With a view to protect the entire creation the Resplendent One ordained the distinct functions of those who sprang from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet<sup>6</sup>. Then Manu tells us in the other verses the distinctive duties and occupations of the Brāhmanās<sup>7</sup>, the Kshatriyas<sup>8</sup>, the Vaishyās<sup>9</sup>, and the Sūdrās<sup>10</sup> and the superiority of the Brāhmanas<sup>11</sup>. Manu also includes five kinds of Dharma (Varna-Dharma, Ashrama-Dharma, Varnashrama-Dharma, Naimittika Dharma and Guna-Dharma) under the head 'the duties of the castes'.<sup>12</sup> Manu describes the different duties and functions of the castes and sub-castes. At the same time, he points out their purely legitimate progeny. In other words, he forbids certain things to each caste<sup>13</sup> and at the same time he allows or rather prescribes certain duties and functions to all castes. The above verses indicate how Manu has repeated the Vedic doctrine of Divine creation of the social classes in

<sup>5</sup> Gangānāth Jha: 'Discourse I, Verse: XXXI' *Manu-Smriti The Laws of Manu with the Bhasya of Medhatithi*, Vol. I. Part I, pp. 74-75, (University of Calcutta, 1920).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. (Discourse I, Verse: LXXXVII), p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Idem. (Discourse I, Verse: LXXXVIII).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. (Discourse I, Verse: LXXXIX), p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. (Discourse I, Verse: XC), p. 135.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. (Discourse I, Verse: XCI), p. 136. Also see Vol. 5 by the same Author, 'Discourse IX, Verse: CCCXXVI—CCCXXXV, Duties of Vaishya and Sudra', pp. 235-240 (University of Calcutta, 1926).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. (Discourse I, Verse: XCII-CX), pp. 137-150.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. (Discourse II, Verse: XXV), pp. 243-244.

<sup>13</sup> Gangānāth Jha: Discourse X, Verse I, and Discourse X, Verse: LXXXVII-LXXX', *Manu-Smriti with the Mahabhasya of Medhatithi*, Vol. V, p. 245 and pp. 304-306 respectively (Calcutta University, 1926).

graded sequence, as well as their ordination of their distinctive functions by the Divine Will. If one goes through Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, one finds that he also does the same thing. But Manu has added an important principle namely, the organic structure of the social classes with a view to promote universal welfare. Yājñavalkya has repeated the same thing.

Manu repeats the early Smṛiti view on a number of points like the duties of the king, the duties of each Social Order, sources of Dharma the influence of the 'cultured people' upon the law so as to make their opinion a supplementary source as well as the criterion of law, the practice of good men or cultured men as found in different regions as an important source of Dharma, the duties of the three Upper Classes in abnormal conditions or in times of distress and the varying standards of 'Yuga-Dharma' so far as the personal behaviour of the individuals are concerned. Yājñavalkya also does the same thing. But he slightly differs from Manu in his views regarding (i) source of Dharma and (ii) sources of State Law and their application. Regarding the origin of kingship Manu says that when people had no king and when they had dispersed through fear in all directions, God created the king and invested him with the authority of protecting them. 'The king's duty is to preserve the law (Dharma) of the social order with a view to promote universal welfare'. The king should do this with the help of 'Danda' or coercive authority. He can assume any form according to the requirements of the purpose, power, and the conditions of time and place. 'Fortune resides in his favour, victory in his prowess and death in his anger, for he is created out of the lustre of all the Gods'. From the above view of the origin of kingship follows, as a corollary, Manu's idea of political obligation of the subjects towards their king. The subjects should look upon the king as God on earth and they should obey him. They should look upon the king with great reverence, even if he happens to be an infant and feeble. Manu has given the following account of king's functions. The king should adopt the energetic behaviour (tējōvritam) of eight deities like showering benefits upon his people, collecting taxes, penetrating everywhere through his spies, controlling his subjects with the help of his 'Danda', punishing the wicked, gladdening his subjects whenever the occasion demands, visiting criminals with anger, destroying the wicked vessels, protecting his subjects and conferring immunities on them on certain occasions. Manu says, 'The king is the propagator of law'. His power grows and prospers when he discharges his duties in the right manner. It grows when he takes what is due to him and when he protects the weak<sup>14</sup>: when he sees that the Vaishyās and the Sūdrās perform their

<sup>14</sup> Gangānāth Jha: *Manu-Smṛiti The Laws of Manu with the Bhashya of Medhatithi*, Vol. IV. Part I, p. 223 (University of Calcutta, 1920).



prescribed duties<sup>15</sup>; 'The King shall make the Vaishya and the Sūdrā carefully to perform their duties; for by swerving from their duties they would disturb this world'.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the sources of 'Dharma', Manu says, 'The entire Veda is the root source of Dharma; also the conscientious recollection of righteous persons versed in the Veda, the practice of good (and learned) men, and their self-satisfaction'.<sup>17</sup> Manu observes where the 'Dharmas' have not been explained the opinion of the cultured people is to be accepted unhesitatingly as 'Dharma'. What the Council (Parishat) consisting of at least ten members or at least three members (with the specified qualifications) or even one Brahmana learned in the Veda declares to be the 'Dharma', must not be disputed but on the contrary must be accepted as the highest 'Dharma'. Yājñavalkya also develops his theory on the old Smṛiti lines of the Vedic dogma. He observes that the king is the upholder of Dharma. Regarding the sources of 'Dharma' he says, 'Whatever thing is fully given in (proper) country, at (proper) time, with (proper) means, accompanied by faith, to (proper) persons, that all is the cause of Dharma'.<sup>18</sup> 'The Sruti, the Smṛiti, the conduct of good men, what appears pleasant to one's own self, and the desire which springs from a good resolution, are . . . the roots of Dharma';<sup>19</sup> 'Four persons who know the Vedas and the Dharmas or who know only the three sources, constitute a Parishat (a legal assembly). What it says is Dharma; or that which even one person who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares'.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in the above verses both Manu and Yājñavalkya add their own in addition to the prevailing sources of Dharma namely, the Sruti, the Smṛiti and the customs. They have also shown, the influence of the 'cultured people' should be taken into account as their opinion would have the effect of law. Yājñavalkya says, 'Of all the works (consisting of) sacrifices, or rituals, or control of conduct, or harmlessness or liberality or the study of the Vedas; this alone is the highest Dharma (duty) that one should see the self by Yoga'.<sup>21</sup> Whereas Manu says, ' . . . the Veda embodies all knowledge'.<sup>22</sup> 'It is the highest authority

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. (Verse: CDX), p. 428 (in Part II, Vol. IV).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. (Verse: CDXVIII), p. 436 (in Part II, Vol. IV).

<sup>17</sup> Gangānāth Jha: Op. cit., Vol. I, Part I, Discourse II, Verse VI, p. 172.

<sup>18</sup> Late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyārṇava: 'Verse VI, Chapter I, Āchāra Adhyāya, Yājñavalkya Smṛiti with the commentary of Vijnāneswara called The Mitākṣara and Notes from the Gloss of Bālabhattacha, Book I. Āchāra Adhyāya, p. 12 (Published by the Panini Office, Bhuvanewara Ashrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad, 1918).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> P. 15.

<sup>22</sup> Gangānāth Jha: Op. cit., Vol. I, Part I, Discourse II, Verse VII, p. 208.

for those seeking the knowledge of Dharma'.<sup>23</sup> The Veda . . . known as 'the Revealed world' and the Dharma-sāstra as the 'Recollections' . . . do not deserve to be criticised (in all matters) as it is out of these that Dharma shone forth';<sup>24</sup> 'If a twice-born person relying upon the 'Science of Dialectics' should disregard these two sources'<sup>25</sup>, he should be cast out by good men—the Detractor of the Veda being an infidel'. Thus, Manu emphasises the infallibility of the Vedas which seeks to enforce a social ban on the transgressors whereas Yājñavalkya emphasises the importance of Yoga. Manu also emphasises the importance of 'the practice of good men' prevailing in different regions like 'Brahmavarta', 'The Madhyadesha, the Middle Region', and 'Aryāvarta'. The practice of good men or cultured people as found in these regions<sup>26</sup> should be observed by the people of the concerned region as 'Dharma'. Yājñavalkya also says the same thing more or less.<sup>27</sup> Thus, both Manu and Yājñavalkya repeat more or less the early Smṛiti principle of the Law of the Social Order. Further, Manu amplifies the older rules relating to the duties of the Upper Classes in 'Abnormal Conditions'.<sup>28</sup> Likewise Yājñavalkya also mentions 'Distress Rules' in detail.<sup>29</sup> Both Manu and Yājñavalkya thus repeat the early Smṛiti doctrine of the relativity of law which allow the individual to perform certain duties in times of distress. Further, both have emphasised the importance of Yuga Dharma. The king's foremost duty (Dharma) is to see that it is observed by one and all. Both opine that one should give up Dharma if this is attended with unhappiness in the future and is hated by the people. These things show the influence of the Brahmanical Smṛitis on the Smṛitis of Manu and Yājñavalkya.

II. *Ideas of State Law and Justice*: Manu for the first time gives a regular classification of the law<sup>30</sup> under eighteen heads or titles. These are: (1) Non-payment of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., (Verse: XIII), p. 220.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., (Verse: XVII-XXII), pp. 231-235.

<sup>27</sup> See the quotation No. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Gangānāth Jha: Op. cit., Vol. V, Discourse X, Verse: LXXXI-CXIV, pp. 307-329.

<sup>29</sup> Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu (Editor) (Tr. by Samarao Narasimha (Naraharaya): 'Distress Rules'. *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas as taught in the school of Yājñavalkya and explained by Vijnāñeswara*, Vol. III, *The Prāyascitta Adhyaya*, pp. 80-87 (The Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari Ashrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad, 1913).

<sup>30</sup> For details regarding 'Law and Institutions' see Dr R. C. Majumdar: Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 335-359.

ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), and (18) gambling and betting. Manu says, 'the king shall daily examine the suits of the litigants falling under the above titles and settle the cases in accordance with the principles derived from different sources of law'. Here Manu repeats what is found already in the early Smritis.

On the other hand, Yājñavalkya appears to base his views upon the Arthasāstra tradition as represented by Kautilya. His description of the royal court of justice agrees with that of Manu. He mentions the structure of the judiciary in an order of descending importance and describes the judicial procedure systematically as found in Arthasāstra of Kautilya. He says, 'Where two Smritis conflict, principles of equity as determined by popular usage shall prevail'.<sup>31</sup> The rule however is that the Science of Law (Dharmasāstra) is stronger (i.e., superior) than the Science of Politics Arthasāstra<sup>32</sup>. In this connection, Dr U. N. Ghoshal observes as follows: 'The above extract is important for two reasons: In the first place, it recognises for the first time in the history of our Smriti literature the principle that Dharmasāstra and Arthasāstra are the two sources of State law. With this we may compare the passage in Kautilya (III I) ... which includes 'dharma' and 'Vyavahara' or 'Vyavahārika Sāstra (Arthasāstra ?) among the authorities on this branch of law. . . We may match this development in the thought of Mahabharata XII which. . . virtually makes out the canon and Arthasāstra (or 'Dandaniti') to be the joint authority for 'Rājadharmā'. In the second place, Yājñavalkya's text involves two rules of interpretation in case of conflict of laws. These rules relate, firstly, to the application of reasoning based on usage in the case of conflict between two Smritis, and secondly, to the application of 'Dharmasāstra' in the place of Arthasāstra, in the event of conflict between these two sources. The first dictum. . . on the other hand, it agrees with the spirit of Kautilya's dictum . . . to the effect that reasoning founded upon the law is the authority in the case of its conflict with the canon (Dharmasāstra). The second dictum seems more clearly to agree with

<sup>31</sup> J. R. Gharpure: 'Chapter I', *The Collection of Hindu Law Texts, Vol. II, Part III. Yājñavalkya Smriti with the commentaries of (1) The Mitāksara by Vijnāñeswara Bhikṣu, (2) The Viramitrōdaya by Mitramisra and (3) The Dipakalika by Sulapani, Vyavaharaadhyaya, Chapters I-VII*, p. 707. (Office of the collection of Hindu Law Texts, Girgaon, Bombay, 1938).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 308.



Kautilya's rule requiring the king to give his decision in accordance with the canon when this is in conflict with the current 'Arthasāstra law'<sup>33</sup>.

III. *Authority and Obligation of the Ruler:* It has already been mentioned Manu's opinion and Yājñavalkya's opinion regarding the origin of kingship, the obligations of the king towards his subjects and vice-versa. Manu opines that the king, a snake and a learned Brahmana should never be despised at any time as they may completely destroy, the offender. Regarding the personal behaviour of the king, Manu says, 'The actions of the king constitute the 'Kṛita', the 'Treta', the 'Dvapara' and the 'Kali' cycles. . . '<sup>34</sup> Asleep he represents 'Kali'. Awake, the 'Dvapara' cycle; Ready to act, the 'Treta'; and actually acting, the 'Kṛita' cycle'.<sup>35</sup> To the king who protects (His people) accrues the sixth part of the spiritual merit of all persons; and the sixth of their demerit also accrues to him, if he protects them not'.<sup>36</sup> 'The king, who, without affording protection, takes tributes, taxes, duties, presents and fines, would immediately sink into hell'.<sup>37</sup> 'He who affords no protection and devours the people, grabbing his tribute of the sixth part of the produce—Him they declare to be the imbibor of the filth of the whole people'.<sup>38</sup> A king who disregards his duties, who punishes the innocent and who fails to maintain 'Dharma' in his kingdom would fall. A king who through folly rashly oppresses the people of his kingdom would lose his kingdom and life along with his relatives. On the other hand, a king who protects the good and suppresses the wicked acquires the merit of thousands of sacrifices. In another verse, Manu observes, a king who punishes the guilty wins merit. Thus, Manu justifies that protection is the Divine purpose of the king's creation. He should protect his subjects partly to fulfil God's wish and partly as he receives taxes, etc., from his people. Thus, Manu repeats the old Smṛiti principles of the benefits that would accrue to the king due to his righteous rule and bad things due to his bad rule; In the opinion of Yājñavalkya, the chief duty of Kṣatriya is the protection of the subject.<sup>39</sup> Under

<sup>33</sup> Dr U. N. Ghoshal: *A History of Indian Political Ideas The Ancient Period and the period of transition to the Middle Ages*, Chapter VIII (Part IV), pp. 161-162 (Oxford University Press, 1959).

<sup>34</sup> Gangānāth Jha: *Op. cit.*, Vol. V. (Verse: CCCI), p. 224.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, (Verse: CCCII).

<sup>36</sup> Gangānāth Jha: 'Discourse VIII, Verse: CCCIV', *Manu-Smṛiti The Laws of Manu with the Bhasya of Medhatithi*, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 338 (Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* (Verse: CCCVII), p. 340.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, (Verse: CCCVIII).

<sup>39</sup> Late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyārṇava: *Op. cit. The Āchāra Adhyāya* Book I, Verse CXIX), p. 235.

the head 'The Vows of a Snātaka', he says 'The Vipra, the Viper, the Kshatriya and the self ought never to be despised. Until death, let him desire prosperity. Let him not touch the weak points of any one'.<sup>40</sup> Regarding the obligations of a Ruler, he says, 'There is no higher virtue for kings than acquiring (wealth by) war and giving that property to Brahmanas, and giving security always to his subjects'.<sup>41</sup> 'The Sovereign should be lenient towards Brahmanas, without duplicity towards his friends, angry towards his enemies and as a father to his servants and subjects'.<sup>42</sup> 'He takes the sixth part of the various deeds (of his subjects) by protecting them with justice. . .'.<sup>43</sup> 'When not protected, whatever sin subjects commit from that verily goes to the king, the half because he takes taxes from them'.<sup>44</sup> 'The sovereign who increases his treasury by illegal exaction from his kingdom soon bereft of good luck, goes to destruction along with his kinsmen (Verse: CCCXL)'; 'The fire arising from the heart of the suffering of the subjects does not cease without fully burning the family, fortune and life of the king (Verse: CCCXLI)'.<sup>45</sup> In the above extracts Yājñavalkya repeats Manu's views.

IV. *State and Government*: Regarding the structure, both appear to have been influenced by Arthasāstra tradition. They more or less repeat with slight verbal changes the seven limbs of the kingdom. Both of them rank the calamity of the king above the officials and that of the officials above the State territory and so forth. But<sup>46</sup> Manu immediately says, 'Yet in the kingdom consisting of the seven limbs interlaced . . . since their qualities are mutually helpful—no one of them is superior'. In other words, he treats all the limbs of the kingdom as equal. Yājñavalkya is silent on this point. As such, though both Manu and Yājñavalkya have been influenced by Arthasāstra traditions, yet Dr U. N. Ghoshal's statement, namely,<sup>47</sup> 'This evidently repeats the Kautilyan principle that the king is the most important unit of State administration' cannot be accepted.

However, if one goes through Manu-Smriti and Yājñavalkya Smriti, one finds on many other points (other than the ones mentioned in the previous pages) both Manu and Yājñavalkya seem to have been very much

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., (Verse: CLIII), p. 256.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., (Verse: CCCXXIII), p. 405.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., (Verse: CCCXXXIV) in Chapter XIII, p. 412.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., (Verse: CCCXXXV).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., (Verse: CCCXXXVII), p. 413.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 414-415.

<sup>46</sup> Gangānāth Jha: Op. cit., Vol. V., (Verse CCXCVI), p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> Dr U. N. Ghoshal: Op. cit., para 2, p. 176.

influenced by Arthasāstra traditions. Chiefly the following are the points: the authority of Danda; corporal punishment; king's necessity to consult officials to manage the governmental affairs; selection of suitable persons with special qualification to fill up important posts under the government; resorting to inspection and supervision of administration with a view to check corruption, nepotism, bribery and to maintain efficiency in administration; the nature of king's rule; public security and Inter-State Relations, etc.

In conclusion, it could be said that both early Brahmanical Smritis and Arthasāstra influenced a great deal Manu-Smriti as well as Yājñavalkya Smriti. That is why one finds the repetition of certain ideas as found in the early Smritis and Arthasāstra in these two Smritis namely, Manu and Yājñavalkya. However, they give us a fund of information to ponder over. The study of these Smritis is very highly useful to the students of Political Science as it would throw some light on the nature of the State (i.e. the essential elements of the State, its evolution and the relation of the State, internally to its individual members and the king), the organisation of the State (i.e. the King and his government, the structure of the government, the bureaucracy, the authority and the role of 'Danda', King's necessity to consult officials to manage the governmental affairs, selection of suitable persons with special qualifications to fill up important posts under the government and generally the principles and methods in accordance with which government ought to be conducted), the functions of the State, the duties of the King, particularly, his duty to uphold 'Dharma', and the relation of State to State (i.e., State's external relations of State and the nature of International Law). Such a study in the Indian context would help the students of Political Science to some limited extent to know the subject matter and also to understand the nature of Political Science. This would enable them to place the subject in the general field of human knowledge in the proper perspective. Political ideas as mentioned in these early Smritis could be examined by them. The study may also give some clues to some of the problems in political theory and may also help one to remodel the political institutions in the Indian context whenever such a contingency arises.



# A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF PUPILS OF RURAL AND URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS

C. S. BENNUR AND D. ABRAHM

It is accepted on all hands that methods of teaching are not the only factors that influence scholastic attainment of pupils. There are other factors also like intelligence, motivation and socio-economic status etc. It is necessary therefore, for teachers and administrators to understand how far each of these factors affects academic achievement of pupils. It will help them to make better plans and take measures for the improvement of standards of attainment of pupils. Further, teachers who understand the relationship between each of these factors will be in a better position to adjust their methods of teaching so as to make classroom instruction more effective. For want of such scientific knowledge teachers of primary and secondary schools are brought under criticism for the poor achievement of pupils.

Bennur, conducted a study to see if there is any relationship between the S.E.S.\* and academic achievement of high school students in an urban area. The subjects for his study were from the city of Dharwar. They belonged to families of different socio-economic levels. It was found that pupils of different socio-economic status differ significantly from each other in their academic achievement. Bennur's study however did not throw any light on the relationship between academic achievement and S.E.S. of pupils in a rural area. An attempt is, therefore, made in this study to see if there is any relationship between the S.E.S. and academic achievement of pupils who study in rural areas.

## The Problem

The problem in the present study is to find out if there is any relationship between socio-economic status and academic achievement of pupils in rural and urban high schools.

The study is divided into two parts: Part-I consists of Construction and Standardisation of a S.E.S. scale, and Part-II of the application of this scale to the study of the relationship between S.E.S. and academic achievement of pupils of rural and urban high schools.

---

\*Socio-economic Status.

## **Methods and Procedures**

Alur is a small town with a population of about 10,000 in Andhra Pradesh. It is Taluk Headquarters as well as of Alur Panchayat Samithi. There are many Government offices such as Taluk Office, Sub-Registrar's office, Samithi Office, Offices of the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Post and Telegraph Office and State Bank. There is the Court of Munsiff Magistrate. A Government hospital and a Veterinary hospital are also functioning in the town. Besides elementary schools, there are three educational institutions, girls' high school, higher secondary school, and a basic teachers' training school. Hence, it is taken as urban area for the purpose of this study.

The students of the higher secondary school and the girls' high school studying in VIII, IX and X classes served as subjects representing urban schools. The pupils of high schools located in some villages in this Taluk are taken as subjects representing rural high schools.

## **The Scale**

In this investigation the sample selected for the construction of the S.E.S. scale contained 679 pupils. If the trait of S.E.S. in this sample was normally distributed, then it was presumed to be representative of its population.

The S.E.S. was determined by the weightages of the sub-categories under six major criteria. The six major criteria were as under:

1. Caste
2. Occupation
3. Education
4. Income
5. Material possessions of cultural importance
6. Community leadership position

The normality of S.E.S. was verified by  $X^2$  test. The value of  $r$ , the reliability co-efficient was found to be, .51. It is significant both at 5 per cent and 1 per cent levels.

The value of  $P$ , otherwise called co-efficient of validity was found to be 0.75. Since it is significant at 1 per cent level and at 5 per cent level the S.E.S. scale constructed for this investigation was taken as valid.

## **Measurement of Academic Achievement of Pupils**

The marks obtained by pupils in the Quarterly Examination were taken to represent their academic achievement for this study. All schools including the higher secondary school at Alur are under the same

management and common question papers were issued in all academic subjects for all schools at the time of the quarterly examinations. Hence, there was uniformity in the estimate of the academic achievement in all subjects as far as the setting of question papers was concerned. As the answer papers were assessed by different teachers, the raw scores of pupils in all academic subjects were changed into standard scores to minimise the non-uniformity in the subjectivity in valuation of the answer scripts. The average of all standard scores in different subjects secured by a pupil was taken as the index of his academic achievement.

### Differential Study—Section A

The effect of S.E.S. of pupils on their academic achievement, irrespective of the nature of rural or urban environment was first studied. To facilitate the study of this aspect, the following null hypothesis was set up.

There is no significant difference in the academic achievement of pupils of different socio-economic status groups, studying in rural and urban high schools.

*Category-wise Mean Achievement Scores:* The group was divided into three Categories—High S.E.S. group (category I) Middle S.E.S. group (category II) and Low S.E.S. group (category III). The Means of the academic achievement of the three categories were calculated and the standard deviations worked out. Table No. 1 shows the mean achievement scores obtained by pupils of different socio-economic levels in all subjects.

TABLE 1. Mean Achievement Scores of Ss Belonging to Different Socio-Economic Status Groups

<i>Socio-Economic Status Groups</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>
S.E.S. Category I	76	52.30	8.67
S.E.S. Category II	357	50.01	7.51
S.E.S. Category III	89	48.12	7.26
	522		

The data indicate that pupils of higher socio-economic level secured higher mean of achievement scores. The highest score was that of pupils belonging to the highest S.E.S. level and the lowest was that of pupils of the lowest S.E.S. level.



The mean of the scores of academic achievement increases as the S.E.S. of pupils increases.

TABLE 2. Findings of 't' Test of the Differential Study

<i>Class</i>	<i>Groups Compared</i>	<i>Difference between Means</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>C.R.</i>	<i>Result</i>
S.E.S.	Category I vs	2.29	1.07	2.14	Significant at .05 level
S.E.S.	Category II				
S.E.S.	Category II vs	1.89	.87	2.17	Significant at .05 level
S.E.S.	Category III				
S.E.S.	Category I vs	4.28	1.26	3.4	Significant at .05 level and .01 level
S.E.S.	Category III				

It will be seen from the Table that the C. Rs of category I and II; II and III; and I and III are all significant. The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected. In other words pupils of different socio-economic status differ significantly from each other in their academic achievement.

### Differential Study—Section-B

The second aspect of the problem, related to the study of the difference between academic achievement of the pupils of similar S.E.S. levels, in rural and urban high schools.

The main objective of this part of the study was to find out if there is any difference in the academic achievement of an S.E.S. group in a rural high school and that of the corresponding S.E.S. group in an urban high school. This forms the second aspect of the differential study.

In order to study this aspect the following null hypothesis was set up. There is no significant difference in the academic achievement of similar socio-economic status groups of pupils belonging to rural and urban high schools.

The sample selected for this aspect of the study consisted of 522 pupils, of whom 291 belonged to rural high schools and 231 to urban high schools.

TABLE 3. Mean Achievement Scores of Ss Belonging to Different Socio-Economic Status Groups—Rural and Urban

<i>S.E.S. Group</i>	<i>Urban</i>			<i>Rural</i>		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>
1. S.E.S. Group I	49	52.31	8.42	27	52.37	9.12
1. S.E.S. Group II	151	49.45	7.40	206	50.35	7.49
2. S.E.S. Group III	31	48.29	6.09	58	48.03	7.81

It can be seen from the above Table that there is no appreciable difference in the mean academic achievements of rural and urban high school students except in the case of S.E.S. group II.

TABLE 4. Findings of 't' Test of the Differential Study

<i>Group compared</i>	<i>Difference between means</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>C.R.</i>	<i>Result</i>
Rural S.E.S. Category I Vs	0.06	2.13	0.28	Not Significant at any level
Urban S.E.S. Category I				
Rural S.E.S. Category II Vs	0.9	0.8	1.13	„
Urban S.E.S. Category II				
Rural S.E.S. Category III Vs	0.26	1.5	.17	„
Urban S.E.S. Category III				

The C. Rs of the different pairs of categories are not significant at any level. The null hypothesis was, therefore, accepted. It is concluded that pupils belonging to similar socio-economic status will not differ significantly in their academic achievement whether they study in rural high schools or urban high schools.

## Discussion

There may be rare cases of low achievers in a group of pupils belonging to a high S.E.S. level. Sometimes a few pupils belonging to a low S.E.S. level, may be high achievers. But, the above said hypotheses hold good for groups of different S.E.S. levels and not for individual cases.

On the basis of the analysis of the Tables 1 and 2 the first null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the academic achievement of secondary school pupils of different socio-economic status groups, was rejected. The standard deviation of the first S.E.S. category in respect of the academic achievement is greater than those of the remaining two lower categories.

Further, the standard deviations relating to these categories are in the ascending order as in the case of the study conducted by Bennur. This may be generalised as follows. The higher the S.E.S. level, the higher will be the mean of the academic achievement of the concerned group and also the corresponding standard deviation.

From the Table 2 it is found that the critical ratios relating to the Ist and IIIrd categories is greater than the other two i.e., those relating to Ist and IInd and IInd and IIIrd. It is significant at .01 level also. Therefore, the group of the lowest S.E.S. level consists of most of the low achievers. Hence, it can be concluded that the S.E.S. of pupils is one of the important factors that influences their academic achievement. Conversely, if a class consists of majority of poor achievers then majority of them are from low S.E.S. levels.

Some interesting conclusions have been made from the study of the Table 3 and Table 4, even though there is no significant difference between the means of rural and urban groups of the same S.E.S. level.

1. The pupils of S.E.S. category III of rural area are the lowest of all other categories. (Table 3).
2. The pupils of the first and second categories of rural area are found to be better achievers than the corresponding groups of urban area. It may be due to the fact that the pupils of urban area are more distracted from their studies by the environmental influences outside the school. (Table 3).
3. The value of the critical ratio relating to the rural S.E.S. category II and urban S.E.S. category II is the greatest. (Table 4). It shows that the difference between the academic achievement of these two groups is considerable though not significant.

The subjects selected for this investigation were from Alur taluk, a backward area in Kurnool district (erstwhile Bellary district). The S.E.S. scale constructed and the results of statistical analysis are specially applicable to that area and other taluks of Anantapur bordering Bellary district where similar social conditions exist.

The first hypothesis proved by the differential study can be generalised to any area because the question of difference of rural and urban areas does not enter into it.

The second hypothesis which deals with the difference between academic achievement of pupils of rural and urban high schools holds good for rural areas and small towns. It may not be true if comparison is made between rural areas and big towns or cities.

## **Conclusion**

It may be concluded therefore that pupils of different socio-economic status differ significantly from each other in their academic achieve-



ment and pupils belonging to a socio-economic status level studying in rural high schools will not differ significantly from pupils of a similar S.E.S. level in urban high schools in their academic achievement.

The implications of the study are obvious. Equality of opportunity in the educational field will have meaning only if there is equality in the economic and social fields. In order to improve the academic achievement of pupils of lower S.E.S. in urban and rural areas, ample provision will have to be made for free text books, scholarships, hostel facilities, libraries etc. A sense of social equality will have to be ensured by equal treatment to pupils of lower status, by providing opportunities of social mixing and social participation. Last but not the least the whole social life in the school should be democratised.

## YOUTH UNREST: NEED FOR EXPLORATORY STUDIES

K. R. MALLAPPA AND A. S. DHARANENDRIAH

### The Problem

'YOUTH UNREST' seems to be one of the most severe social problems prevailing in our country in particular, and in the world, in general. Almost all sections of the society, directly or indirectly, are feeling and expressing their concern over a problem which may threaten the smooth functioning of any social life. Practically everyday, one is sure to come across in the dailies something concerning the disturbing and disruptive activities of the youth. One is often induced to ask the question, 'Are the youth in arms and in open revolt?' This problem is often discussed and debated not only at the conversational level, but also on the public platforms, in the academic circles and even at the office tables. When one glances through the reports of such debates and discussions one is bound to get an impression that they are adding to the prevailing confusion in the understanding of the problem. Most of the participants in a seminar<sup>1</sup>, for instance, have characteristically viewed the given problem from narrow points of view which of course, are dictated by their respective fields of specialization and experience. Often one may be surprised to observe that such specialists fail to understand and appreciate that the problem under consideration is multidimensional in nature and hence a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary for a fair understanding. Besides, the attempts made to theorise lack terribly the empirical foundations. Very few systematic empirical studies have been reported on the problem of youth unrest. Yet it is surprising to see that scholars have come to draw inferences about the characteristics and causes of youth unrest and they have dared to suggest remedies as well!

### A glance at the explanations given

As it is already mentioned earlier attempts have been made in public speeches, symposia and articles to explain the phenomenon of youth unrest. Though there is great variation among the explanations given, most of them cluster around the idea that youth unrest is a function of intergenerational gap. Some of the other explanations given are related to educational, social, economic and political events. In the symposium on 'Intergeneration conflict?'<sup>2</sup> (New Delhi 1970), Y. R. Dambo, Suma

---

<sup>1</sup> Seminar on Intergenerational Conflict in India (Delhi 27, 28, 29 March, 70) Sponsored by Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi-7 and Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi-1.

<sup>2</sup> New Delhi, 1970 Ibid.

Chitnis, K. D. Gangrade, P. H. Reddy, A. B. Shaw and others explained the above phenomenon differently. According to Dambo the older and the younger generations differ a little, in dress and appearance, values, Philosophy for life, attitude towards friendship between sexes, choice of careers etc. However, marked differences are reported in rituals, religious beliefs and ideas about morality. Suma Chitnis ('Parents and students: A Study of Value Orientation') attributes the differences between generations to the shifting demands of the enlarging society with its rapid pace of change. Commenting on the problem of intergenerational conflict, Gangrade ('A Sociological Study of Youth in Transition') says 'unless we view the intergenerational conflict as an on going process of social change and continuous socialization we would be stuck up'.

In the opinion of Hollingshead<sup>1</sup>, 'Intergenerational conflict' is due to the ambivalent status accorded to the youth, lack of correspondence between the role prescribed to the youth and that perceived by the youth<sup>2</sup> and the conflicting demands made by the adult institutions on the youth. According to P. H. Reddy ('Migrant Students and Areas of Intergenerational Conflict') some of the factors underlying intergenerational conflicts are 'explosion of knowledge, new ideas and ideologies and exposure of the youth to them through the various mass media of communication'.

Besides the factor of intergenerational gap, the phenomenon of youth unrest is also claimed to have been determined dominantly by 'unemployment' (A. D. Karmarkar: 'The economics of youth conflict'<sup>3</sup>). 'Sheer size and number of the youth' (A. P. Katti, 'Demographic Dimensions of Youth Unrest') 'Graduate Unemployability' (Amritananda Das: Intergenerational Conflict: A Theoretical Scheme for the Analysis of the Indian case) and a score of other factors.

### **A Comment and an Emphasis**

By reading such explanations about the problem of youth unrest, one would definitely get an impression that such attempts would only lead us to an oversimplification of a problem which is so complex and dynamic. Even though each specialist or a politician is free to express his opinion, he should not forget that any explanation should be supported by relevant empirical facts. Otherwise any discussion on this problem at the theoretical level, however, will not be in anyway better than the lengthy discussion on the 'Number of teeth in the horse's

---

<sup>1</sup> Hollingshead, B., 'Elmtown's youth', John Wiley and Sons, 1949, pp. 152-160.

<sup>2</sup> Dharanendriah, A. S. and B. Krishnamurthy: 'Youth Unrest': A Psychological Analysis: JI. Social Sciences, K.U.D.

<sup>3</sup> 3 & 4: Paper presented at the Seminar on 'Youth unrest' conducted by Gandhi Peace Foundation Centre, Dharwar. 6 & 7th Feb. 1971.



mouth'<sup>1</sup> which lasted for 13 days and yet remained undecided. One has to take the attitude of the young man who requested the elders, with all humility to take pains to go and look in the mouth of the horse itself.

It is because of the danger of misinterpretations which may further lead to faulty approaches to the solution of youth unrest (as it has happened in the field of education due to muddled thinking and lack of experimentation during the last 20 to 25 years) we feel and emphasize that this problem needs to be thoroughly explored before any experimentation is ventured upon. Why don't we be sensible enough to look in the horse's mouth itself? If we are eager to understand 'Why the youth are at unrest?' What prevents us from asking the youths to explain their case themselves? If we feel that parents, teachers, administrators and politicians are contributors in their own way to this social malady, why don't we ask them also to express and to explain what they feel and think about this problem? In that case, one has to agree that there is a need for a series of exploratory studies, which of course, are not within the reach of any particular investigator's time and resources. As it was pointed out elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> larger organizations like the Government and universities have to venture upon such studies. However, to support their claim for exploratory studies, the authors have conducted a pilot study on a small sample of students in Dharwar. The following is a brief report of the said study.

### **An Exploratory Study<sup>3</sup>**

*Objective:* This study was intended to explore the problem of student unrest by getting information from a small sample of 110 students studying in the University and the colleges in Dharwar city.

*Method:* Semi-structured interview technique was employed to collect data from the respondents. It was intended to seek answers mainly to the following questions:

- (1) Do you think that there is student unrest? 'Yes or No'.
- (2) What do you think are the main characteristics of student unrest? (Any number of responses may be given);
- (3) 'What in your opinion, are the causes of student unrest? (any number of responses may be given) and
- (4) What remedies or solutions you would suggest for this problem? (any number of responses may be given.)

---

<sup>1</sup> Story from Francis Bacon, reported in Munn. N. L. Introduction to Psychology, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dharanendriah, A. S. and B. Krishna Murthy. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> We acknowledge with gratitude the service rendered by M. A. Previous Students (Psychology) in collecting interview data from a few respondents.

*The outcome:* The obtained responses are analysed separately for each question and the general indications have been noted. Of the several responses given to the questions a few of them are common while most of them are individual responses.

### Existence of student unrest: do you think that there is student unrest ?

Among 110 respondents, 85 per cent answered in the affirmative. Supplementary questions revealed that they are of the opinion that most of the students are restless and the same is expressed in the form of unwholesome forms of thought and conduct like absenteeism, strikes etc. The remaining 15 per cent of respondents felt, however, that there is no sufficient evidence in favour of student unrest. Some of the events like student strikes, quarrels etc., are in a way localized and mostly characterize the behaviour of a small section of the student community. Anyway since a highly significant section of the sample thinks that there is student unrest, one has to accept that such a problem exists at least from the point of view of students.

*Characteristics: What do you think are the characteristics of student Unrest?* The respondents accepting the existence of the given phenomenon, were asked to describe the characteristics, explain causes and suggest remedies for student unrest. An analysis of the characteristics given reveals that this phenomenon is a highly complex one and as a component of characteristics varying from the most individualistic responses like 'favourable attitude towards misbehaviour' to the most common ones like 'student strikes'. Of the 40 characteristics mentioned, a few prominent ones are listed below along with the percentage of responses.

TABLE 1. Characteristics of Student Unrest (N=94)

Sl. No.	Characteristics	Percentage of responses
1.	Student strikes, Dharanas and Gheraoes	62.52
2.	Absenteeism	22.00
3.	Indiscipline (like writing on walls and desks, coming late etc.)	18.50
4.	Destruction of properties	13.00
5.	Failures in the examinations	11.00
6.	Demands for post-ponement of examinations	11.00
7.	Disrespect to teachers	5.05
8.	Very many extracurricular activities	5.05

The results listed in the table 1 indicated that even with regard to the opinion about the characteristics of student unrest, there seems to be wide differences among students themselves. Hence, there is a need for a detailed study to specify such characteristics.

### **Causes: What in your opinion are the causes of student unrest?**

The 50 causes reported ranged from 'rapidly changing fashions' to 'uncertainty about the future'; from 'Inadequacy of the teaching staff' to 'over population'. The following table gives the percentage of responses for a few causes mentioned more frequently.

TABLE 2. Causes of Student Unrest: (N=94)

Sl. No.	Causes	Percentage of responses
1.	Decline in educational standards	32.5
2.	Political interference	27.9
3.	Uncertainty about the future	22.0
4.	Lack of student guidance	11.5
5.	Lack of understanding between teacher and students	17.5
6.	Lack of understanding between parents and children	17.0
7.	Inadequacy of teaching staff	12.0
8.	Overpopulation	6.0

A glance at the percentage of responses given to the eight selected causes (table 2) would reveal that here again the problem seems to evade us very much and induces us to feel, and accept the need for a thorough exploratory study. As it is mentioned elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> it is necessary to take the attitude of a clinician in the diagnosis of a disease. Unless we succeed in locating the causes, no attempt would help us to deal with this problem effectively. It even becomes necessary to take a microscopic analysis of each of the causes. Hence to develop testable hypotheses and to design an effective study, there is the urgent need for a thorough exploratory study of this problem.<sup>1</sup>

*Suggested remedies: What remedies or solutions you would suggest for this problem?* Once again we see much variation in responses. About 35 remedies were suggested in all. They ranged from 'reintroduction of joint family system' to 'change of education system'; from 'appointing honest and good teachers' to 'putting an end to the production of graduates'. More frequently suggested remedies are listed in the table 3 along with percentages.

<sup>1</sup> Dharanendriah, A. S. and B. Krishna Murthy. Ibid.



The remedies listed in the table 3, even though seem to be meaningful very much lack specificity. The very fact that the respondents varied a great deal in suggesting remedies indicates that the problem requires a better understanding. Hence, there is further support for our claim to have thorough exploratory studies.

TABLE 3. Suggested Remedies (N=94)

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Suggested Remedies</i>	<i>Percentage of responses</i>
1.	Keeping students away from politics	23.00
2.	Change of education system	18.00
3.	Creating job opportunities	15.00
4.	Creating atmosphere for the development of better teacher—taught relationship	15.00
5.	Fulfilment of students' needs	14.50
6.	Increasing the responsibility of parents	12.00
7.	Providing student guidance	9.25
8.	Developing meaningful examination system	9.25

### **Concluding Remarks**

There is a general awareness among the public that the youth are becoming more and more restless these days. This phenomenon of unrest is expressed in a variety of ways like strikes, absenteeism, destruction of public properties etc. Opinions, expert as well as public, are being expressed about this phenomenon. Debates and symposia were held. Public speeches were delivered. Yet the problem remains undiscovered. What is required is not an impulsive or a biased approach but a systematic multi-disciplinary approach to the problem. Such an approach should necessarily begin with the ground work i.e., the exploration of the problem. Hence, an attempt is made here to stress the need for exploratory empirical studies involving not only the youth but also all those who are concerned directly or indirectly with this problem—parents, teachers, administrators as well as politicians. Our claim for exploratory studies is supported by the facts obtained from a pilot study conducted on a small sample of students. It is our sincere feeling and thinking that any exploratory study should necessarily be intended to develop testable hypotheses which may further pave the way for more systematic, objective and experimental studies. This warrants a large scale programme for a scientific investigation of the problem which can only be undertaken by larger organisations like the government and the

universities. We hope that such organizations would realize the need immediately and come forward to discharge their duties to the society at large.

#### REFERENCES

1. Dharanendriah, A. S. and Krishna Murthy, B., 'Youth Unrest': A Psychological Analysis'; JI. Social Sciences, K.U.D.
2. Hollingshead, B., 'Elmtown's youth', John Wiley and Sons 1949, pp. 152-160.
3. Munn, N. L. Introduction to Psychology, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1962, p. 4.
4. Papers presented to the Seminar on 'Intergeneration conflict' Sponsored by Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi-7. (March 27, 28, and 29, 1970).
5. Papers presented to the seminar on 'Youth Unrest' conducted by Gandhi Peace Foundation Centre, Dharwar (Feb. 6 and 7, 1971).

## PROBLEMS OF WORKER-TEACHERS

S. B. YADAVAD

### Introduction

'WORKERS' Education' is a difficult term to define as it has been variously understood and differently defined by various authors and institutions. For example, Florence Peterson says, 'Workers' Education is not a generic term but has a specific connotation. It is special kind of adult education designed to give workers a better understanding of their status, problems, rights and responsibilities as workers, as union members, as consumers and as citizens'.<sup>1</sup> Jack Barbash defines it as '... any planned educational activity which a union undertakes; or an educational activity undertaken by any agency other than a union, whose major objective is to build a more effective union citizenship'.<sup>2</sup> According to International Labour Office, it is 'designed to develop the workers' understanding of labour problems—whether as trade unionists or as citizens'.<sup>3</sup>

Further dimension gets added to the understanding of the term 'Workers' Education', if we look to the operation of workers' education programme in different countries. In U.K., for example, it includes trade union education, general adult education and vocational education. In U.S., it is taken to be synonymous with training in trade union leadership. In most of the Western European countries, it is an education in citizenship. In developing countries, the term 'Workers' Education' has assumed wider connotation than in developed countries and aims at making the worker a better operative, a better union member, and a better citizen. This variation in the content of workers' education is understandable in the context of varying educational facilities, system of education, stages of labour movement, economic and political development, etc.

To sum up, whether in developed countries or developing countries, workers' education seems to lay stress on the training of workers to deal effectively with the problems they face, to develop leadership among them and also responsible rank and file. It seems to aim at creating and

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by S. S. Sunder in his article 'Philosophy of Workers' Education' in *Workers' Education*, Journal published by Central Board for Workers' Education, Nagpur, January, 1971, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Jack Barbash: *Universities and Unions in Workers' Education*, New York, 1955, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Meeting of Experts on Workers' Education: Geneva 9-14 December, 1957: *Methods and Techniques of Workers' Education* I.L.O. Geneva.



promoting constructive responses to the problems confronting the society. So, it seems that it has been used as a method and a media to deal with major problems associating with social change as well.

### **Workers' Education Programme in India**

The Second Five Year Plan recommended increased association of labour with management and that steps should be taken to 'give employees a better understanding of their role in the working of the industry and the process of production'.<sup>4</sup> It has also recommended that 'training of workers in trade union philosophy and methods become necessary if the workers are to become self-reliant in this respect (leadership from within ranks)'.<sup>5</sup>

In pursuance of this recommendation, the Government of India, in 1957, appointed an eight-man team of foreign and Indian experts to suggest a suitable programme for workers' education. The team suggested a nationwide scheme for workers' education to be administered by semi-autonomous board with the following aims and objectives:

(i) 'to develop stronger and more effective trade unions through better trained officials and more enlightened members,

(ii) to develop leadership from the rank and file and promote the growth of the democratic process and tradition in trade union organization and administration;

(iii) to equip organized labour to take its place in a democratic society and to fulfil effectively its social and economic functions and responsibilities;

(iv) to promote among workers a greater understanding of the problems of their economic environment and their privileges and obligations as union members and officials and as citizens'.<sup>6</sup>

The Central Board for Workers' Education was established in 1958 with Headquarters at Nagpur, in order to implement the workers' education scheme on nationwide basis. It conducts a three-phased programme:

In the first phase, the Education Officers are trained, with a view to employing them to serve at Regional and sub-Regional Centres, which the Board establishes at important industrial centres.

In the second phase, selected workers are trained by the Education Officers as Worker-Teachers, in full time training course of three months' duration in batches of about 25 each. The selection of worker-teacher

<sup>4</sup> *Second Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Government of India, Delhi, 1956, pp. 573-74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Story of Workers' Education*, Director, Central Board for Workers' Education, Nagpur, p. 4.

trainees is made by Local Committee attached to Regional Centre. The trainees are sponsored by the trade unions and/or employers. The workers, who are selected for training are released by their respective employers with full wages for the duration of the training.

In the third phase, the worker-teachers after completion of their training revert to their factories and places of employment and conduct programmes of education for the rank and file workers at the Unit Level Classes.

It is clear that the success of the workers' education scheme rests mainly on the performance of the worker-teachers at the units level. But the performance of worker-teachers depend on number of factors like their motivation to become worker-teachers, co-operation from management, workers and trade unions, etc. Unless they get co-operation from these agencies, the very objectives of the workers' education scheme are likely to be defeated.

### **Object of the Study**

This paper aims at knowing the problems faced by worker-teachers in conducting the unit level classes in all their facets and to suggest some remedies to overcome these problems.

### **Methodology**

Due to proximity and lack of funds author has limited his study only to worker-teachers in Hubli-Dharwar area. Of the 72 worker-teachers of the Hubli-Dharwar area trained at the Regional Centre for Workers' Education at Hubli since its inception to the end of 1972, 9 had resigned their jobs and 1 was transferred to a place outside the corporation limits of Hubli-Dharwar. So, out of the remaining 62 worker-teachers, 50 per cent sample (i.e. 31 worker-teachers) was selected on the basis of systematic random sampling for intensive interviewing after pre-testing. Information was also collected from other connected persons as well as from records. Further, author had the benefit of observing the unit level classes and the problems faced by worker-teachers from the close angle as he was assigned with supervision work for the students of M.A. (S.W.) Course. Though the sample selected is only 31, author strongly feels that the conclusions of this study by and large are common to all worker-teachers elsewhere also.

### **Worker-Teachers and Their Problems**

Worker-teacher occupies a strategic position in the Workers' Education Programme. As has already been pointed out the success of the programme depends mainly on the performance of the worker-teacher.

His work will not end with the training that he receives at the Regional Centre but actually begins after the training, and at his place of employment. He is to plan and organise unit level training programme for fellow workers. This programme of imparting training is to be done outside the working hours for three months in batches of 25 workers each, till all the fellow workers are trained. As a part of the programme, he is to arrange study tour, local visits, debates, etc. He is paid Rs. 40 as monthly honorarium. He is actively assisted by the officers of the Regional Centre. If he is considered as the best worker-teacher he is awarded Rs. 300 and a certificate of merit.

But, to plan and conduct the training programme successfully, he needs the understanding and co-operation of the fellow workers by way of registering and attending to the classes, employers by way of providing facilities like class room, furniture, etc., active assistance of the officials of the concerned Regional Centre and above all the whole hearted encouragement from trade unions. If there is lack of understanding and co-operation, the worker-teacher will meet with a number of problems and if these problems persist, it is likely that he may lose initiative and interest in the programme resulting in the frustration of the very object for which he has been trained. That would mean wasting of scanty and scarce resources. So, nothing should be spared to assist him in his work of training the fellow workers.

The first pre-requisite for the success of the Workers' Education Programme is the motivation of worker-teachers to conduct training programme at the units level for fellow workers. Without this motivation no amount of help and co-operation will make him to take initiative. The following table indicates as to why workers underwent worker-teachers training course.

TABLE 1. Motives to Become Worker-Teacher

Educational Status	To Educate Fellow Workers	To know How to Run the Union	Deputation by Management	Request by education officers	To Acquire knowledge	Total
Primary	3	—	—	—	—	3
Secondary	8	2	—	1	—	11
Collegiate	7	1	4	—	5	17
Total	18	3	4	1	5	31



From this table, it can be seen that 17 or 55 per cent of the sample respondents have highest educational status viz., Collegiate. The next comes the 11 (35.4 per cent) respondents who received secondary education and remaining 3 (9.6 per cent) from the lowest educational status i.e., primary. It seems that there is positive correlation between general education and worker-teacher training. This may be due to the fact that higher education makes the person to realize the importance of learning more and more and to keep abreast of others by utilizing the opportunities that come on their way.

But there seems to be negative correlation when we consider the motives to become worker-teachers. Out of 17 respondents having college education, only 7 (41.1 per cent), out of 11 respondents having secondary education, 8 (72.7 per cent) and out of 3 respondents having primary education, all the three (100 per cent) are motivated to educate the fellow workers. This goes to show that the higher the educational status, the higher would be the position one holds and does not seem to associate with rank and file of employees.

The worker-teachers training given at the Regional Centre seems to have not sufficiently motivated all the worker-teachers to conduct unit level classes to educate fellow workers. The Centre should either select only those workers having intention of training the fellow workers or it should motivate the workers selected for worker-teachers training course to train the fellow workers. Thirteen (42 per cent) respondents having different motives such as to know more about trade union, to acquire more knowledge etc., would have done so by undergoing training at the unit level with lesser cost in time and money.

The motivation of worker-teachers will be clearly reflected as to how many worker-teachers actually conducted units level classes. The following table gives some details about this:

TABLE 2. Unit Level Classes

Educational Status	Conducting the Unit level classes	Discontinued the unit level classes	Not conducted any unit level classed	Total
Primary	—	3	—	3
Secondary	—	5	6	11
Collegiate	1	5	11	17
Total	1	13	17	31

From the above table, we find that one respondent was conducting the unit level class at the time of study, 13 (42 per cent) respondents discontinued to function as worker-teachers while seventeen respondents (55 per cent) have not conducted any unit level class.

All the 3 (100 per cent) primary educated, 5 (45.4 per cent) of 11 secondary educated, and 5 (29.4 per cent) of 17 College educated work-teachers had conducted the unit level training courses for their fellow workers at one time or the other but discontinued them. The reasons they gave for discontinuing the unit level classes are as follows:

Out of thirteen respondents, 9 said that managements had stopped the facilities they used to give for running the unit level classes. The reasons for stopping the facilities as revealed by the respondents were that the managements were not convinced of the utility of this training. So, they were not willing to spend money on the facilities. Secondly they felt that this training made the workers more conscious of their rights rather than their responsibilities towards the organization. As a consequence of this, they said that managements had refused to give permission even to hold the unit level classes in the premises of the factories, establishment, workshop, etc.

The remaining 4 respondents said that all their fellow workers had been trained and so they discontinued the unit level classes.

All the 13 respondents said that they were made to obtain permission every time they organized the unit level classes and the permission was not easily forthcoming.

All the 13 respondents replied, as to why they had not approached their trade unions for the facilities as the training is mainly in trade union philosophy and methods, that the unions do not have enough resources to provide facilities and most of them do not have even sufficient space to accommodate the trainees.

All the 13 respondents said that they had experienced great difficulty in getting the trainees. This was due to shift and incentive systems which were in vogue. As the shifts of work change very often, it was difficult for the worker-teachers to get the same batch of workers for training for three months. Secondly, workers worked under incentive systems. To earn more wages, they worked hard. As a result of this hard work workers had neither the patience nor the energy to attend the unit level classes for 1½ hours on five days a week throughout the duration of the training course. Moreover, this training does not carry with it any monetary benefits to the trainees. As such, workers were not willing to join the training course.

The only attractive part of the training is the study tour. Because of this attraction many workers joined the unit level classes in the early period. But subsequently this attraction was lost because of getting the workers released and getting them loans or advances for the tour proved to be very difficult for the workers as well as for the worker-teachers. So, both the worker-teachers (6) and workers lost interest in the training.

Two of the worker-teachers are of the opinion that the honorarium of Rs 40 per month for organising unit level classes is too petty an amount and not commensurable with the trouble they take in organising and the time they devote for the training of the fellow workers. They have also said that they have secondary occupations which fetch them more money than the honorarium. In addition to this, they had the difficulty of getting the trainees. So, they said that they discontinued the organising unit level classes.

Seventeen worker-teachers (55 per cent) did not conduct the unit level classes at all. Four respondents, out of these 17, were motivated to educate the fellow workers. But they could not do so, they said, because the management were reluctant to provide them with any facilities.

The remaining 13 (42 per cent), though differently motivated, were ready to organize the unit level classes at the persistent instance of the officials of the Regional Centre. But they could not do so for the following reasons:

Eight of these 13 respondents were unable to get any facilities from the management. Two of them were working in shift system which changed once in a month. Two worker-teachers said that they were in the employment of seasonal factories which operated  $2\frac{1}{2}$  months only, that too in shifts and the number of workers employed was also not large enough to warrant the implementation of training programme at the unit level. The remaining worker-teacher said that he did not organize the unit level classes as he did not know the regional language, Kannada, which is understood by the majority of workers.

### **Number of Workers Trained**

All these difficulties noted above had their effect on the number of workers trained at the unit level classes. All the 14 worker-teachers, who conducted and subsequently stopped, together had trained about 1750 workers in 75 batches by the end of 1971. They ought to have trained about 7000 workers in 280 batches of 25 workers each if they had not had the difficulties noted above and if they had started training of workers at the unit level soon after the completion of the worker-teachers training course.

If the remaining 17 worker-teachers had undertaken the training of fellow workers the number of trained workers would have gone up considerably.

Thus, the object of training the workers' despite the lack of general education in trade union methods and philosophy, to make them duty



conscious and responsible citizens as soon as possible had suffered considerably even in quantitative terms let alone the qualitative aspect of the training.

### **Conclusion**

In the earlier pages, an attempt was made to study the problems of worker-teachers in organizing and conducting unit level training programmes for the fellow workers and the consequence of these problems. The observations of this study are re-stated in the form of conclusions to make suggestions to overcome the problems of the worker-teachers.

Out of 31 respondents, only 18 (58 per cent) had the intention of training the workers at the unit levels in becoming the worker-teachers. The remaining 13 (42 per cent) had different intentions. So, it is necessary that while selecting the workers for worker-teacher training to pay attention as to why they would like to become worker-teachers or while imparting the training the effort should be made to motivate them to train the fellow workers. Otherwise, scarce resources like time and money would be wasted.

Out of 31 respondents, 21 (68 per cent) said that management could not provide the facilities or discontinued to provide facilities to run the unit level classes which resulted in the discontinuation of organizing or led not to organize any unit level class. So, to overcome this problem of obtaining facilities, the management be made to realize the worth and utility of this training by organizing short-term training for the personnel of the managements.

Out of 14 worker teachers, 13 (93 per cent) said that they had difficulty in getting the trainees because of practice of shift system. To overcome this problem it can be suggested that shift of work may not be changed for the workers who register as trainees for the unit level classes.

Six (43 per cent) of these 14 respondents had difficulty in organizing the study tour, which can be solved by active assistance of both management and Regional Centre.

Four (28.8 per cent) of the worker-teachers discontinued the unit level classes as all the workers of their establishment had been trained. It seems that the workers' Education Scheme is not clear as to what could the worker-teachers do under such circumstances. However, it can be suggested that such worker-teachers may start short-term training programme on subjects like safety, house-keeping, etc.

Two (14.3 per cent) respondents said that the honorarium they receive in lieu of training they give at the unit level is meagre. It seems that worker-teachers training had failed to impress upon them that this training is not meant for any personal gains like obtaining the higher status, promotion, or advancement in the wages or salaries.

Two of the worker-teachers said that the nature of their factory does not warrant them to organize the unit level training. So, while selecting the workers for worker-teacher training, the nature of the factory be taken into consideration.

It should also be kept in mind that the secondary educated worker teachers are more suited to conduct the unit level classes than primary educated worker-teachers who said that they had poor verbal expression or college educated worker teachers who are not likely to identify themselves with the rank and file workers.

On the whole, it may be said that if management is convinced of the utility and worth of the training and careful selection of workers as to their motive of becoming worker-teachers and to the nature of their factories or workshop or establishments may solve most of the problems that confront-worker teachers. Unless these problems are solved right earnestly, the purpose of the Workers' Education Programme is likely to be defeated.

## IMPACT OF BALAGANGADHAR TILAK ON KARNATAKA

N. A. PATIL

BALAGANGADHAR TILAK, the Father of Indian Militant Nationalism, was a Maharatta Brahmin dedicated to India's freedom from his early age. Under his inspiring leadership, Congress movement was popularised in the whole of India particularly in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Sir Valentine Chirol describes Tilak as 'One of the most dangerous pioneers of disaffection' and 'to be truly the Father of Indian unrest'. Tilak was the 'Prince of Patriots' and 'real founder of the popular anti-imperialist movement in India'.<sup>1</sup> Tilak had a burning love for freedom of his country. He was the fore-most fighter of Maharashtra in the fight for freedom of India. Karnataka derived inspiration from his political and social ideas. As Tilak said, Karnataka was a great strong-hold in his rousing campaign of Swaraj. It kept aloft the banner of freedom in the days of Tilak. He dominated the Indian political activities between 1885-1920.

After he took his LL.B. degree from the Bombay University, Tilak along with Agarkar resolved not to opt for Government services but to devote himself to the service of the motherland. Later, after 1880, Tilak started papers 'Kesari' and 'Maratha' to spread his national ideas of emancipating India.<sup>2</sup> That was the beginning of his early political career. He roused the national consciousness and instilled the spirit of manliness and courage. He soon became the embodiment of the political desires and aspirations of the Indians.

Karnataka established close relation with Tilak. Number of his followers in Karnataka increased and his prestige was enhanced. His paper 'Kesari' had so tremendous influence over North Karnataka that a Kannada paper called 'Kesari' came to be edited and published from Hubli by Sri Bindu Rao—Mutalik Desai of Dharwar.<sup>3</sup> Tilak's undaunted and fearless slogans were a warning to the British Government. As Poona was nearer its national activities exercised considerable influence on North Karnataka. The newspapers of North Karnataka freely borrowed and followed his ideas from the 'Kesari'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gurumukh Nihal Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Vol. 1—1600 to 1919, Second Edition, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1950, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed.) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, (in Kannada), Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> R. Y. Dharwadkar, *Patrika Vyavasaya* (in Kannada) Janata Shikshana Male, Dharwar, 1948, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Kabbur Satkara Samiti, *Dr Kabbur Narayanarayaru*, (Biography) (in Kannada) Dharwar, 1958, p. 6.



Leaders of Karnataka regarded Tilak as their hero, guru, and master and his 'Gita Rahasya' as their guide. Alur Venkat Rao translated 'Gita Rahasya' in Kannada Language. Kannada people were inspired by the noble ideal of emancipating their country from the alien rule.

Tilak first discovered in Gita the scriptural authority for his programme of activism in politics.<sup>5</sup> In his remarkable book 'Gita Rahasya' he has expounded the activist doctrines of 'Gita': 'Awake, Arise and fight the battle of Dharma' which was the recurrent call of Lord Krishna. But Tilak's interpretation of the call is in no way related to the epic struggle between the Kurus and the Pandavas. But it was the duty of the Indians to arise and fight against the foreign rule. To Tilak, therefore, India was Dharma-Kshetra. He believed that Indians could break the yoke of alien rule through the message of Gita. This revolutionary view of Tilak as propounded in his book, 'Gita Rahasya', struck the intelligentsia with the force of a new message of activism and manliness.

Karnataka leaders plunged into the political arena and rolled up their sleeves to the task of building up of Karnataka which had suffered degradation since the downfall of Vijayanagar empire. During the Vijayanagar rule Karnataka had attained the height of its prosperity in respect of art, literature, architecture, religion, science and others. The glittering tinsel of European education had enslaved the Indians. It was at this crucial period, Tilak arose to instil life and patriotism in the Marathi Muslim and Kannada folk. His wonderful intellect and lofty ideals were inscribed in the hearts and minds of his devoted followers all over India. The dominant personality of Tilak and his teachings moulded the life of many leaders of Karnataka.

The rise, growth and impact of the fresh national awakening moulded the political consciousness of India through the leadership of Congress organisation since 1885. It gradually spread in Karnataka also. Kola-chal—Venkat Rao, a well-known lawyer of Bellary was the Karnataka representative to the first session of the Indian national congress in 1885.<sup>6</sup> Later, Karnataka delegates attended the Congress sessions and conferences in large number. Tilak's revolutionary paper 'Kesari' had a tremendous political influence on lawyers, doctors, and teachers in Karnataka. It also won over the masses and provided a new channel for the pent up energies of a nation. Thus he was the fountain-head of inspiration for the political activities in Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Nation as a whole. He opened a new vista of hope and promised a new land. From that time onwards, every movement that was started in Maharashtra had

---

<sup>5</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39.

its reaction elsewhere particularly in Karnataka.<sup>7</sup> Strong nationalistic ideals of Tilak caught the imagination of the Karnataka people and earned him a place of high honour in politics. He dispelled fear and instilled courage in the people in the pursuit of their object—Swaraj.

Karnataka followed the footsteps of Maharashtra in so far as the public activities in Poona and Bombay were concerned. The new English School was founded at Poona in 1880 by Tilak, Chiplunkar, Shastri, Agarkar and others. In 1882, the school bearing the same name started at Dharwar<sup>8</sup> (Victoria High School). In spite of several critical situations at different times the school has made progress. During this time a similar school was started at Belgaum.<sup>9</sup> The Marathi paper 'Kesari' started at Poona. In Hubli also 'Kesari' nicknamed as the piece of 'Kesari' (Kannada) was started.

He started the Gajananotsava in 1893.<sup>10</sup> His main objects in starting such celebration was to infuse patriotism and discipline among people. Herein he tactfully exploited the religious sentiments of the people.<sup>11</sup> Boys from schools and colleges were inspired to take part in the celebration. It also began to be celebrated in Karnataka with a view to give the universal outlook and to instil a sense of patriotism. In the same manner, Shivaji Jayanti started in 1895 to adore him as a National Hero. The youths of Maharashtra were fired with ambitions and great enthusiasm to serve the mother-land. The reflection of the celebration of Shivaji Jayanti was also seen in Karnataka. Meetings were held and political lectures were delivered. It roused a new spirit and life in the people. Thus Karnataka became a prototype of Maharashtra in all public, social and national activities.

## Partition of Bengal

Another incident that created a stir in Karnataka was the partition of Bengal in 1905. Bipin Chandra Pal, Lal Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak sounded the bugle against the partition by the Government. Amrit Bazaar Patrika of Calcutta, Kesari of Poona stood against the measure. They gave a call to the Indians to protest against the partition. They preached Swadesi and boycott of foreign goods. Tilak undertook

<sup>7</sup> D. P. Karmarkar, Nationalism in Karnatak, in *Karnataka Darshana*, R. S. Hukerikar, Bombay, 1955, p. 453.

<sup>8</sup> Kabbur Satkara Samiti, *Dr Kabbur Narayanarayaru* (Biography), Dharwar, 1958, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Gurumukh Nihal Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Vol. 1-1600 to 1919, second ed. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1950, p. 157.

<sup>11</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed), *Congress Ranna Mahotsava* (in Kannada), Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 76.

tour of North Karnataka in 1905-1906. He led a widespread campaign of Swadeshi. People of Karnataka came under his influence. Observance of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods were, according to Tilak, the means for the attainment of Swaraj or Self-Government.

Karnataka did not lag behind in ventilating its feelings of sympathy for the Bengalis. The leaders of Karnataka had connection with the movement of the Bengalis.<sup>12</sup> The protest movement sponsored and strongly advocated the extensive practice of Swadeshi. The Swadeshi movement took its rapid stride. Alur Venkat Rao, Gadigeyya Honnapurmath, Krishna Rao Mudvedkar, Anant Rao Dabade and others undertook an extensive tour and delivered speeches at Ranebennur, Navalgund, Nargund, Hanagal, Bagalkot and other places to boycott foreign articles and practise Swadeshi. The four-fold programme—Swadeshi, Boycott, Swaraj and National education was organised in all places. The ideas of Swadeshi and boycott spread among the middle classes also. As a result, Swadeshi industries started in many places.

### **Tilak Gokhale Parties in Karnataka**

At the beginning of 20th century the political agitation developed on the extremist line. The new energy and consciousness began to arise. The extremist leaders of the Indian national movement denied the ideology of the moderates—Moderation in politics and public life. The extremist section was more militant and uncompromising in their hostility to the foreigners. The difference between the two groups of the Congress became wider. Tilak condemned the ideologies of the moderates and their adoration of the West. He originated the extremist idea in Maharashtra. He raised a cry that Swaraj or self-government must be the goal of the national movement. 'Home rule is my birth-right and I will have it'. This slogan gave entirely a new colour to the movement. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was formerly inclined towards Gokhale party.<sup>13</sup> Later on he became the chief exponent of Tilak's ideology in Karnataka.<sup>14</sup> Every movement of Tilak, either political, social or cultural, had a clear and vigorous reflection in Karnataka.

A meeting of Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha, under the presidency of Tilak was held at Bombay in 1906. It extolled the boycott of foreign goods and preached that the goal of Swadeshi should be accepted. The meeting expressed sympathy with the Bengalis. Karnataka leaders were

---

<sup>12</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed.) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, (in Kannada), Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed.) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, (in Kannada) Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



determined to continue Swadeshi. Meetings were held at different places and propaganda campaign was undertaken to impress on the people to adhere strongly to the use of indigenous goods.

### Surat Congress Session

The followers of Tilak from Karnataka, attended the Surat Congress Session in 1907.<sup>15</sup> Among them, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Sreenivas Rao Kaujalgi, Alur Venkat Rao attended the session. The educated youths of Karnataka who were interested in the Congress activities used to attend the Congress session every year which provided an opportunity to imbibe the passion for freedom, love and devotion for the Congress. Tilak, with his iron will, passion for freedom, with his learning and eloquence had established a leading position among the men who moulded the public opinion in his day. He had become popular, especially among the educated youths who wanted to elect him the president of the Congress of 1906. A large number of people had gone to attend the Congress session from Karnataka in 1907 along with Tilak. Alur Venkat Rao, in his '*Nanna Jeevana Smritigalu*' (Vol. II, pp. 64-65) has given an account of the crisis in the Congress session at Surat when Tilak rose to speak. The session broke up amidst scenes of tumult and violence on account of the fact that the Congress was divided into two camps—the moderates and the extremists.<sup>16</sup> The division was more of method than of ideal. The genesis of Extremist Thought in Indian National Congress is traced to Tilak. He made the voice of extremism heard through the columns of '*Kesari*' and spread his views far and wide.

The imprisonment of Tilak sent a thrill of excitement and indignation in the hearts and minds of Kannadigas. He was released in 1914.<sup>17</sup> His release gave rise to further political activities. 'His release in 1914 was a signal for further activity and a session of the Provincial Conference at Belgaum in 1916 heralded a union of the moderate and the extremist schools under one banner. The Home Rule Movement under the lead of Mrs Besant and Lokamanya Tilak found ready response.<sup>18</sup> In 1916 the provincial conference was held at Belgaum. In the same year under the presidency of Barister Baptista, the Bombay provincial conference set up the Home Rule League in 1916.<sup>19</sup> Mrs Anni-Besant spread

<sup>15</sup> D. P. Karmarkar, Nationalism in Karnatak, in *Karnataka Darshana*, R. S. Hukkerikar, Bombay, 1955, pp. 453-54.

<sup>16</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed.) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, (in Kannada) Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, pp. 76-77.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>18</sup> D. P. Karmarkar, Nationalism in Karnataka in *Karnataka Darshana*, R. S. Hukkerikar, Bombay, 1955, p. 454.

<sup>19</sup> R. R. Diwakar, (ed.) *Congress Ranna Mahotsava*, (in Kannada) Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, 1947, p. 38.

the movement in all the provinces.<sup>20</sup> Alur Venkat Rao tried stupendously to secure an independent branch of the Home Rule League to Karnataka.<sup>21</sup> He secured success in his efforts. Gangadhar Rao became the President of Home Rule League. An effective propaganda was conducted in the regional language in all parts of Karnataka. Karnataka Sabha founded at Dharwar in 1916 strongly advocated the unification of the entire Kannada speaking areas.

Besides North Karnataka, the other portions of Karnataka also came under the influence of Tilak. Ammembala Srinivas Pai led an agitation for freedom in the districts of South Kanara and Bellary.<sup>22</sup> He spread the aims and objects of the Congress among the middle classes. Ammembala Subbaraya Pai was one of those who undertook the four-fold programme of the Indian National Congress.<sup>23</sup> He spread the ideas of Swadeshi and boycott among the middle classes. Swadeshi industries were started in South Kanara and Bellary districts. Few other leaders who led the freedom movement in the districts of Bellary were Kola-chalam Venkat Rao and Sabhapati Mudaliar.<sup>24</sup>

There was a good deal of political agitation in Mysore. The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were successfully functioning under the benevolent rule of the Maharaja. The people of Mysore demanded further political reforms as they were educationally and politically advanced. His Highness was sympathetic towards his subjects and their demands. He was prepared to go to the utmost extent possible consistent with the general interest of the State. So he is regarded as a staunch nationalist in the Indian politics. But the State of affairs in the Kannada districts of Hyderabad Karnataka was different. Kodagu also practically sailed in the same boat.

Thus the impact of Balagangadhar Tilak on Karnataka was indeed great. The leaders of Karnataka held Tilak in great reverence. He roused them to action. They drew inspiration from him. He was to them a great source of strength. Karnataka loyally stood by Tilak and received a substantial political guidance. Tilak passed away in 1920. Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. His leadership and teachings attracted the masses and the congress in great number. 'It was with the advent of Gandhiji and Gandhism that the masses of Karnataka were

---

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

brought actively into the political arena. So far as Karnataka was concerned, Tilak's appeal was principally to the intellectuals though the masses held him in devotional reverence.'<sup>25</sup>

The period was an important epoch in the growth of nationalism in Karnataka. The Karnataka people were, so to say, trained by Tilak in the art and science of Indian Nationalism. He taught the leaders of Karnataka how best they could contribute their mite in India's struggle for independence. A band of stalwarts and public workers came to the fore-front because of Tilak and they became the outstanding pioneers of National Movement in Karnataka. They went on building a sound and solid political structure over which a superstructure of nationalism came to be constructed. Tilak did not merely remain as a great worker and leader of Maharashtra but he had also the credit of being a great worker and eminent leader of Maharashtra and Karnataka in particular and India in general. He worked incessantly for the cause of India's independence. He preached to the people to take courage and confidence in themselves and to break the doors of freedom if it is bolted from inside. It is for these reasons that an epithet of 'Lokamanya' came to be used with reference to Tilak.

<sup>25</sup> D. P. Karmarkar, Nationalism in Karnataka, in *Karnataka Darshana*, R. S. Hukkerikar, Bombay, 1955, p. 454.



## HARDEKAR MANJAPPA'S VISION OF FREE INDIA

S. Y. GUBBANAVAR

THE purpose of this paper is to discuss the views of late Shri Hardekar Manjappa, a truly great son of Karnataka, about the vision of free India and to what extent his predictions have come true in free India. Such a thing has been done after dealing briefly with his life sketch.

### I

It may or may not be generally true that prophets are honoured abroad while stoned at home, but it is true, that, in India, there is a tendency to ignore our great men. Only when some outsiders point out to us our great men, then we try to pay our belated homage to them. The unfortunate truth of this statement is borne home most effectively in the case of Hardekar Manjappa (1886-1947). Hardekar Manjappa, popularly known as 'Karnataka Gandhi' was born at Banavasi in 1886. He was a great nationalist of Karnataka, an independent thinker of power and originality, a social reformer, an outstanding editor, a pioneer educationist, a master of Kannada prose and above all a great leader.

His brother Shri Madhulingappa was a clerk in the Revenue Office at Sirsi and it is he who was the chief bread winner of the family. Naturally Manjappa went to Sirsi and continued his education. In 1903 he completed his 'Mulki' and became a teacher there. Shortly, he came under the spell of Swadeshi movement that was led by B. G. Tilak due to partition of Bengal and thus entered the public life by undertaking journalistic venture. With the financial aid of Shri Maganalli Dodda-basappa of Davanagere he started to edit '*Dhanurdhari*' there in 1906. Again, '*Dhanurdhari*' itself planned to be a Kannada version of Tilak's '*Kesari*'. However, the owner of the press where it was printed disliked the outspoken tone of the paper and virtually killed it by raising the rent beyond Manjappa's means. By this time Tilak was arrested because of his fiery speeches against British Government and given six years' imprisonment in 1908. When Manjappa heard this news at 12.00 noon on 13.7.1908, he went off to the backyard, and wept loudly and did not even take his lunch that noon, because he was a devotee of Tilak.<sup>1</sup> At this juncture, the suppression of popular forces both in British India

---

<sup>1</sup> Manjappa Hardekar—*Muvattu Varashada Nanna Kānike* (in Kannada) Almatte, 1937, p. 19.

and in the Indian States was at its height. Manjappa severely criticised the policy of the British Government for which he was warned by the British Government through Mysore Government.

As he had to give up the publication of the newspaper '*Dhanurdhari*' partly due to the paucity of funds and partly due to political reasons, the propagation of the views of B. G. Tilak on Swadeshi by Manjappa came to be affected. Subsequently he turned his attention towards religion. As he thought that marriage may come in the way of his public life and social activities, he took a vow of celibacy in 1910.<sup>2</sup> He read Bhagavad Gita, Vachanas of Shri Basaveshwar and they created an impact on his mind. The result was that his interest turned towards the problems of yoga, rebirth and God in 1914. In the same year B. G. Tilak was released. Manjappa was glad to hear the news.

When B. G. Tilak published his book '*Gita Rahasya*' in 1915, Manjappa thought of translating it into Kannada. So he went to Poona not only to seek his permission personally for translating '*Gita Rahasya*' into Kannada, but also to seek his views on the issue of rebirth.<sup>3</sup> The conversation did not satisfy the young man, but Tilak suggested that he would answer him in writing if he (Manjappa) left a written note of his views.<sup>4</sup>

By this time Tilak had launched 'Home Rule Movement' and it was followed by Mrs. Annie Besant, the Theosophist leader. Now again Manjappa was attracted by Mrs. Besant's Home Rule Movement, but this time he could do little about it because he was bereft of his paper.

In 1919 Gandhiji appeared on the Indian Political arena and started his activities in the right direction. By this time Manjappa had already been influenced by Gandhiji's life and his activities. Thus he became an ardent follower of Gandhiji. In order to preach Gandhian ideals among the people of Karnataka, he brought out a volume containing a sketch of Gandhiji's life and a few of his activities for the first time in Kannada in 1919.

The reforms of 1919 were considered to be utterly inadequate by the Indians. The Indian National Congress at its annual session in 1919 had condemned the Reforms as 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointment'. Though it had asked the British Government to take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with principle of self-determination, it had resolved to work the 1919

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> G. S. Halappa—*History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka*. Vol. II, Govt. of Mysore Publications, Bangalore 1964, p. 362.

Reforms as far as feasible with a view to bring about the early establishment of responsible Government in India. The Indians were not in an uncompromising mood, but certain events spoiled the political atmosphere in the country. When Rowlatt Bill was about to be passed in 1919 in addition the opposition offered by the people to that bill, Gandhiji appealed to the people of India to offer satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bill. Hartals and disturbances took place all over the country. After Rowlatt Act came into force, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy occurred. Further, subsequent event like Khilafat movement brought the Congress and the Muslims together. The Muslims of India protested against the hard terms imposed on Turkey after the First World War. Gandhiji joined hands with the Muslims and started his non-co-operation movement on August 1920 for the redress of the Khilafat and the wrongs of the Punjab (Jallianwala Bagh tragedy) and the establishment of Swarajya in India.<sup>5</sup> The Calcutta session of Congress in September, 1920 endorsed the policy of Gandhiji and called upon the people to give up their titles and honorary offices, to boycott schools, law Courts and also refuse to pay taxes to the Government. Side by side Gandhiji launched an economic programme of Khaddar spinning and weaving upon which he insisted to the point of making membership of the Congress depend upon it. 'The spinning wheel in his view would solve the poverty of the free Indian peasant.'<sup>6</sup>

Coming under the spell of Gandhiji, the people of the native state of Mysore took enthusiastically to the Khadi programme, and expressed their sympathy towards Gandhiji. At about this time Manjappa, who was an ardent follower of Gandhiji, took a vow of Khadi on August 1st, 1920 and started to propagate Khadi cult under the auspices of 'Jnana Prasarak Sangh'. Though he propagated the Gandhian ideal of Khadi, he disagreed with Gandhiji regarding the bonfire of foreign cloth. He held a very sensible view that such cloth should be given to the poor, thus supporting Andrews against Gandhiji.<sup>7</sup>

The non-co-operation movement was very strong for two years. However, the events of 'Chauri Chaura' in the U. P. where 22 policemen were burnt to death by a mob, made Gandhiji to suspend the movement. He was himself arrested in March 1922 and the movement collapsed.

When Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in 1922, Manjappa was not as powerfully affected as he had been in 1908 when Tilak was arrested. But Manjappa's evaluation of Gandhiji was very high. Gandhiji's political, economic social activities and his defiance

<sup>5</sup> V. D. Mahajan—*Constitutional History of India*. S. Chand & Co., 1967, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> F. M. De Mello—*The History of Indian National Congress*. Oxford University Press, 1934, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> G. S. Halappa. *Op. cit.*, p. 363.



of the policy pursued by the Britishers towards Indians after he appeared on the Indian Political scene and his subsequent arrest for his activities, was dubbed, by Manjappa as the beginning of new era, 'Gandhian era'. It should be noted here that Manjappa who had the missionary zeal, propagated the ideals of Gandhiji in his Karwar district after modifying the same. His search for basic principles of religion led him to compare Gandhiji's tenets with those enshrined in Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, in his book '*Mahatma Gandhi Praneeta Satyagraha Dharma*'. He sought to purge the Gandhian ideals of their political association and give them a purely ethical and religious content. On such ideological foundations he established 'Satyagraha Ashrama' near Harihar in 1923.

Though he preached the 'Satyagraha Dharma' in his own way, in due course of time he had to give up as he did not get enough support for his views. Subsequent political developments and World War II created a great impact on the mind and thoughts of Hardekar Manjappa. He thought that it may not be possible for the Indians to gain political independence through non-violence. After all during his early days he was very much influenced by Tilak's teachings. Now he had also come under the influence of Shri Veerasavarkar and Hindu Mahasabha ideology. Naturally this led him to think that it may not be possible to attain independence by following Gandhian principles and leadership. So he expressed his doubts of India getting independence through non-violence. But all the while he took a stand that somehow India should get independence. After the Second World War and after watching the political developments in India he felt that India would positively get independence. He also saw the communal tension between the Hindus and Muslims and the Muslims' demand for Pakistan. He observed all these things in his '*Ecchatta Hindustan*' (Awakened India) published in 1946, before his death on January 3rd, 1947.

## II

Now let us examine the views of Hardekar Manjappa on the vision of free India.

After carefully examining the Indian History, Manjappa explained India's downfall with cyclic theory and prophesied that she would soon rise with her political independence.<sup>8</sup> The world, Manjappa believed, had progressed from a religious phase to an economic phase, from a phase in which public power was personalised to a phase in which public power is nationalised. Manjappa quotes instances in Indian history to justify this in the Ramayana as a battle which was fought around two

<sup>8</sup> Manjappa Hardekar—*Ecchatta Hindustān* (in Kannada) Almatti, 1946, p. 54.

persons, Rama and Ravana. Then he compared it to the Second World War, wherein he said that the battle was between Germany and other nations. Manjappa shared the historical optimism of the 19th century of Indian history. As an Indian he felt that his country was on the threshold of a new era of happiness, and as a man he felt human history was going in the right way.

Manjappa mentioned the impact of the working of Britain, American and the Russian systems of Government on India and Indians. He distinguished three types of political system: Constitutional monarchy, the American system of democracy, and the Russian system of dictatorship.<sup>9</sup> He argued that free India would be influenced by them. Further, he said that when India becomes free the British influence may continue for some time and there are strong indications for this. But in the interest of the Indians, British type of constitutional monarchy should not be adopted. Similarly Russian system of dictatorship should not be encouraged in India. Only alternative Manjappa could suggest was the American model of democracy to India. He argued that even in France and U.S.A. there is no perfect democracy. There is scope for some loop-holes. Even then, said Manjappa, it guaranteed individual liberty and promoted the welfare of all. Thus he believed that India would be better if it follows the American model, after purging it of such defects as economic inequality.

Manjappa devoted considerable attention to the problem of the 'Secular State'. He endeavoured to uphold the idea of a secular state. But he was equally concerned with religion as he was a religious person. He cited instances from Indian history to show about religious toleration between different castes in each community. What Manjappa really objected to was neither caste nor community as such but extreme and fanatical attitudes engendered by both the communities and by different castes in each community. He believed that it must be possible for all groups to co-exist on a basis of mutual understanding, respect and a common political allegiance to a secular state. He preached and practised the doctrine that what a good Veersaiva could, and should do to be a good Hindu and a good Indian.<sup>10</sup> There was no essential conflict in being all three at the same time. However, under the impact of more egalitarian feelings, he condemned the caste system in principle. He denied that birth should be considered so very important. He opposed the practice of untouchability most vigorously. Further, he opined that caste and religious tensions would disappear under the pressure of economic progress. He believed in the trend towards dominance of

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> G. S. Halappa. Op. cit., p. 372.

economic interest as implicit in the progressive movement of the world history. That is why in his book '*Awakened India*' he prophesied that Hindus and Muslims would bury the hatchet in a free India like the original Dravidians of free India being initiated to the Aryan faith who in turn became Aryans practising the teachings of the Vedas.<sup>11</sup>

The possibility of synthesis between the Indian and Western cultures has been a much debated question for the past century and a half in India. This question engaged the attention of Manjappa also. Like most Indians with advanced views, he was keenly aware of the difficulties it would present in practice. The problem, as he saw it, was one of assimilating what could and should be assimilated. He was an outspoken critic of those who merely imitated the outward forms of Western culture. He distinguished between imitating a superficial habit and understanding and assimilating an idea. He ridiculed many Indians as Westernised in dress only but deeper down untouched by the spirit of modernism. In particular, he advocated the assimilation of the Western techniques of industrial and commercial organization, the western capacity to carry on trustworthy business, and the Western skill in organizing and operating public and political institutions on sound lines with integrity and earnestness.<sup>12</sup>

### III

Now the question arises at this juncture as to what extent his predictions have come true.

In the first place, his cyclic theory which he referred to India's history, and by that prophesied in his book '*Awakened India*' in 1946 that India would get her independence has come true, when India attained her independence on August 15th, 1947. But he never envisaged the division of Hindustan into India and Pakistan. However, such a division took place. He never expressed any opinion regarding this burning problem in his book '*Awakened India*'. But he was rather careful in avoiding it.

Let us examine his views on the political system. It has already been stated, Manjappa favoured American System of Democracy though he knew that in no part of the world there is full-fledged democracy political, economic, social democracy. However, he wanted that free India should adopt American system of democracy. But the makers of the Indian constitution borrowed many things from various constitutions of the world and adopted the same in the Indian constitution to suit our needs, which is unique in many respects. Regarding his

<sup>11</sup> Manjappa Hardekar—Op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 61.



aversion to the Soviet System, many in free India have committed themselves to 'growth with social justice' and 'Garibi Hathao' and in this respect, free India has been influenced to a great extent by the Russian System. Even then Manjappa's dream to secure growth with social justice, to abolish inequalities, poverty, etc., and to make the country a secular one, to make the people work sincerely and honestly to promote the welfare of the nation, is being realised by the present Government.

Hardekar Manjappa wanted that India should be a secular state. Though the Constitution of India does not mention the term 'secularism', still the constitution is secular. The present Government is trying to make the country a secular one. Even here Manjappa's dream has come true.

He believed that caste and religious tensions would disappear under the pressure of economic progress. There would be integration between castes and castes in each community and between different communities. The economic development followed by industrialisation in free India and the policies pursued by the present Government have paved the way for such a thing and this could be seen by every one. Manjappa's dream also is being realised in this respect. On the other hand he said that in free India Hindus and Muslims would live together. But in the later period, events have showed that Hindus and Muslims have clashed and many have died. Hindustan had to remain divided into India and Pakistan. Though the country was divided the Muslims constituted the major minor community in India. Even then attempts are being made to establish religious toleration, mutual respect and political accommodation and the common political alligiance to a secular state.

Now turning to his complaint that many Indians were Westernised only in dress but they were untouched by the Western people's character, integrity, hard and sincere work, devotion to the duty, love of their motherland, etc., by and large it is correct even now and he has properly assessed the Indians being an Indian himself. Regarding adoption of Western techniques of managing industrial and commercial organizations, the Western capacity to carry on trustworthy business and the Western skill and zeal in organizing and operating public and political institutions on sound lines in the interest of the public good, Manjappa's predictions have come true to a limited extent.

# **SOCIAL SERVICE CAMP: A TECHNIQUE IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION**

(An Account of an Experience)

G. S. BIDARAKOPPA\*

## **Introduction**

A SOCIAL service camp was organised in a village with a conviction that it was an effective technique in organising and implementing constructive programmes, and providing work-experience to those intended to undertake welfare work as their career. Schools of social work engaged in training social workers provide field experience to the trainees in various methods including community organization which aims at converting community resources into community welfare services so as to meet the felt-needs. And the organization of social service camps contributes to the fulfilment of the twin-objectives. Though community organization as a method of social work and Community Development Programme as a constructive project designed and implemented by the State are not the same they have many common features, and the social service camp becomes a common ground for both of these processes to be operative in.

Community Development Programme which was launched two decades ago (in 1952) in India is essentially a programme of self-help in bringing about desired improvements in socio-economic conditions of rural masses. It is to be admitted that from the very inception of the programme the efforts made by the government to spread the ideas and philosophy of Community Development among the recipients has hardly touched their hearts or has caught their imagination. A large majority of the population for whom the programme was devised is still illiterate and highly traditional in their outlook. Therefore they have neither belief in the modern progressive ideas and programmes sponsored by the Government, nor have they exhibited keen desire to adopt new ways of life envisaged by the Programme. They tend to think on the other hand that the government tries to impose its ideas and programmes on them. Our main concern here is to do away with such misconceptions about the programme and show how it can really be made practicable, effective and meaningful both to the organizers and to the participants.

---

\* The author is grateful to Prof. H. M. Marulasiddaiah for his help in writing this paper.

Since many needs and developmental activities of villages are covered by the Community Development Programmes, people are under the illusive impression that every need of the Community would be met by the government alone and their participation in the programmes is minimal even if called for. Only when social awakening about their needs and problems is created and when they are well informed about the programmes such false notions can be removed from their minds. It requires the efforts of both the professional and the devoted voluntary 'Community Welfare Workers' who establish and maintain rapport with genuine love, understanding and personal 'touch' with the people in the village to arouse the sense of Community needs and problems in them. Many things can be done in and with the community on informal grounds. Apparently there is a wide gap in approach and tackling of the problems between the government and voluntary workers. This gap can be bridged by preparing student youths to be welfare workers, by organising social service camps in the villages. Accordingly a camp was organized in a village.

One of the main features of the social service camp is to undertake a physical project decided upon by the people of the Community. Although camp brings certain benefits to the participants, among other things, they learn as how people are helped to select a physical project and how do they go about it. In this paper an effort is made to throw light on the role of the social service camps in bringing about adjustment between welfare needs and resources of the community to realise the self-help programmes of the Community Development with an example of a camp organized.

Post-graduate students of social work under the direction of a faculty member organized the camp in October 1972 in Baada. Ten inmates and a Probation Officer of the State Home for Men, Hubli, Department of Probation and Aftercare Services, Government of Mysore, were also associated with the students. This was a major departure from the customary way of organising the camp (only with departmental students).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Department of Social Work for the first time had broken new ground in 1971 when it organized a social service camp for its students along with ten mental patients in Salakinkoppa a village near Baada, the site of the present camp. This time inmates of State Home for Men were taken with a view to continuing the experimentation started in the previous year. This kind of experimentation is believed to be capable of opening new ways of refining the camp organization,



## The Village

The village Baada where the camp<sup>2</sup> was held is 7 miles away from the University town of Dharwar. The population (1106) is divided into religious and caste groups, and the main groups are of *Lingayats*, *Valmiki's* and Muslims. There are 92 Lingayat, 33 Valmiki, 30 Muslim, 7 Madar, 6 Badiga, 5 Samagar, 3 Kuruba and one each of Kammara, Madiwala and Kumbara households. When Baada was a *Jahagirdari* village, it was dominated by Muslims socio-economically and politically. Now it was under the control of Lingayats. Land holdings of Muslims come only next to Lingayats and other castes have very small holdings.

## Needs and Resources

As mentioned earlier a physical project was to be taken up in the Community as an integral part of the camp programme. The selection of such a project is not an easy task. Since every community has got certain needs and resources and 'only the ideal community would have no gaps between them' (G. Carten, 1967:203), there were a number of community needs to be met in this village. All these needs could not be tackled effectively and simultaneously for, the resources of the community were limited. Hence it required proper exploration, identification and selection of urgent 'felt-needs' of the community. For this purpose as C. G. Murphy (1954:257) had suggested one of the more appropriate guide lines when he said, 'the worker has to establish a relationship with community leaders in identifying the needs, in agreeing on common social goals and in movement towards those goals', I made frequent visits to the village alone and also along with a student placed with the village for his field work<sup>3</sup> to establish the needed rapport with the leaders.

Although there was initial resistance the leaders did come together to discuss the needs and problems of their community with a view to finding out the resources available to meet them. When they required certain clarification in the process of identifying and selection of a felt-need, of course, they turned to me for guidance. After observing the trend of the discussion carefully I suggested them to take 8-10 days to ponder over the needs and to arrange them as per their importance since they were the better judges to decide what was good for them.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the article had the opportunity of directing the camp in this village.

<sup>3</sup> The students of Social Work are placed with correctional institutions, factories slums and villages as a part of their practical training. The student who was assigned Baada as an agency had already established some rapport with the people there.

When I went to the community at the stipulated time the leaders were still vague as to decide which needs to assail first, although they had considered the following ones as the needs since it was necessary to establish priorities to take up the most important need for a community project.

- (a) Construction of a compound wall of the school newly built,
- (b) Construction of village library hall,
- (c) Construction of an approach road between Baada and Salakin-koppa (villages),
- (d) Construction of *Huliwarada raste* (the road that encircles the entire village), and
- (e) Improvement of village lanes.

The differential perception and consideration of community needs by different leaders of the community such as, the Chairman of the School Committee, a rich and an elderly person who commanded respect among the villagers in the past and has now taken to deep religious life, a member of the Taluka Development Board, the Chairman of the village Panchayat Committee and the Police-Patil of the village respectively, prompted us to make one important observation, that was, the fact that they had considered the aforementioned as possible immediate needs indicated that there was no local apathy to introduce a programme of community project. These leaders put forth their individual valuations and justifications as to why they had considered them as the immediate needs. It was true some of the needs mentioned were genuine and important in nature but people had not met earlier to discuss and take up any community project. At this point it is appropriate to mention the observation made by F. Hunter and others (1956:32) who said, 'the community does not move precipitately even on major problems. With the possible exception of a real crisis situation, the community leaders tend to take their time in coming to decisions that mean change'. Leaders came together in this village even though a real crisis situation had not occurred to effect change and development in their community.

When leaders were not able to thrash out, specify and focus a single need explicitly as mutually agreed upon and acceptable project I suggested to take some more time to think about them and to make efforts, if possible, to arrive at an unanimous decision since I did not want to impose my views on them at any stage of selection of the project. I did this with a firm belief that 'a locally inspired programme has a better chance to sink its roots deeply into the soil than one that is imported' (McMillen, 1951:230-31). By the time I visited the village next time they had put the stamp of approval on the project of construction of the *Huliwarada raste*. They said that they had ranked this need as 'first' in order of priority. Further, some of them said it was a long-felt need over the last

fifty years, it serves as a short-cut to go to fields and was required for the movement of bullock-carts, cows, buffaloes and for men and women too. Thus the people's project was selected for the camp.

Although the project was selected when the question of mobilising the human resources arose the leaders could not assure us the participation of people in greater measure in carrying out the work. They said, 'we don't have full confidence in our own people and we don't have hopes and faith in the ability of the students either, in successfully completing the project'. Perhaps they were right when they said thus. One could discern several reasons, firstly, the traditional conflict, though diminishing rapidly, was still witnessed persisting among the Muslims and Hindus, secondly, the people had no experience of ever working on such a community project and lastly, the students knew only reading and writing and they never had any experience of hard manual work. Hence the leaders were hesitant to assure us the co-operation and participation of the people. Great hope of evoking community concern was found in selecting the project, but now I was in ambivalence about holding the camp in this village.

Previously the Department of Social Work had organized Social Service Camps successively for about four years in a nearby village, Salakinkoppa, where there were neither different political parties nor religious groups, and where there was undivided respect for leadership of one person. It was obviously quite easy for the community organizer to work in such a small community where the undisputed leadership was accepted and full co-operation was extended.

The social structure of Baada was significantly different as compared to the above cited village. Believing that social welfare workers had a positive role to play wherever non-co-operation was found, mutually strained relationships were involved and social dysfunctioning was evidenced I accepted the present challenging situation as an opportunity to show that camps could imbibe the cohesive feelings among the people and could make them share the onus of 'their' project evenly and successfully. With this challenge in mind the camp was set up in the village.

### **Bhumipuja (earth worship) and Project Work**

The project work commenced on 16th October, 1972 on *Dashara*<sup>4</sup> festival day with *Bhumipuja*.<sup>5</sup> The leaders, along with other village folk,

<sup>4</sup> Dashara festival day is believed to be a most auspicious day for Hindus to start any new venture—business, trade, building works and so on.

<sup>5</sup> While starting the construction of building roads, houses etc., Hindus worship earth, believing it as the mother, in order that she should not bring any impediments and to protect the workers (who are believed to be her children) from meeting with any accidents in the building process,



belonging to different religious, caste and political groups, who never in the known history of the village had come on a common platform, assembled for *Pooja* (worship). Was it not a good omen to start the road building work? *Bhumipuja*, besides being an auspicious occasion of worshipping the mother earth in terms of belief, more significantly it achieved the meeting of (a) leaders professing different convictions, cultural values and ideas, and (b) the common village folk in terms of social relationships and solidarity of the community. Thus, *Bhumipuja* became an unforgettable event in the process of the organization of the camp.

The project work undertaken jointly by the people and the campers was the construction of 24' wide and of about 4 (0.8 Kilometers) furlong long road that partly encircled the village. Such a wide road was to pass through encroaching under its stretch some portion of the backyards on one side and of the paddy fields on the other. These backyards and paddy fields belonged to all the caste groups and principally to the Lingayats and the Muslims. It was heartening to note that the traditional caste conflict prevalent among these two groups, to the surprise of every one, did not appear at all, and even if one or two individuals tried to raise any, they were immediately resolved by the respective caste-elders by telling them that the road work that was undertaken was the 'Community work', for which everyone was required to contribute either in the form of land or labour or both.

The road was to be constructed entirely anew. In order to maintain the measured width, the thorny fences were to be cut and removed on both the sides and then gutters were to be dug up. One fourth of the road was to be constructed like this. The rest of the work was much more complicated. In addition to this type of work, the whole patch of very thick green thorny bushes, plants and trees that had grown and interwoven exactly on the main path was to be cut and removed. Besides, the deep ditches that were on the middle of the road were to be filled in with mud, stones, branches of trees, etc. It was understandably a rough and a hard task. Without the determined efforts of the leaders and of the people such a work could not have been possibly thought of and attempted at all by the campers.

### **Work in Progress and People's Participation**

The ball was set rolling. Twenty to thirty people presented on the project site on the first two days. With such a poor response, the leaders thought, the work would remain incomplete. The Lingayat leaders who were now dominant socio-economically, politically and even numerically made relentless efforts to mobilize the people belonging to their group to come and work on the project. Although the Muslim leaders did not make open campaign in support of the project, their people did

co-operate well. The leaders were very much anxious to complete the work. They used to sit late in the night preparing the list of people who were to report for work on the project the next morning. This was the responsibility of the village Patil who at times used to go around the village and 'caught hold' of the 'absconding' persons.

Campers used to work up to 12 noon and the people even longer. By the time the campers' day's manual work was over the leaders had arranged distribution of butter-milk to them. This was a good time and a best way for the boys to get relieved of tiresomeness for the day. The leaders, besides, invited the campers for breakfast, grand lunch and dinner parties on certain occasions. These social parties brought the campers and the people still closer and some of our students and inmates expressed, 'we are at "home" and we feel happy to be here and work with the people'. The significant point to be struck here is that such social contacts furthered the mutual understanding better, and strengthened informal social relationships to achieve satisfactorily the project goal. K. D. Gangrade (1971:27) is right when he said that 'The Indian social organization is so organised that most of the needs of the people are met in informal relationships of the community itself.'

As and when people started coming spontaneously for the project work it was progressing quite steadily towards comfortable end. It is true that manual work was a new experience to some of our campers. Still they did not show reluctance for work, and nor did they hesitate to mix with the local people. They worked with them with a feeling that it was 'our' work. Thus campers joined their hands in the community work as morale-boosting partners. People accepted the campers as 'their boys' and somebody said 'the project work would not have been conceived, taken up and seen so much progress but for the boys and the University.'

### **Lecture Programme**

Everyday evening lectures were arranged for the villagers and the campers from agricultural experts, population educationists, social welfare educators, rural extension leaders, Panchayat Raj administrators, librarians and so on. Lectures were delivered in *Kannada* to enable the people to understand the subject matter properly. This was one of the unique features of the camp. Large number of people used to assemble everyday to listen to the speeches that were followed sometimes by discussions, film-screening, folk songs, *bhajans*, dramas and so on. These made telling impact on arousing the people's awareness about their responsibilities in working for the development of their community. For example, one of our senior faculty members spoke on 'people's role in community development'. It was so well received by

the people that it had a magical and a magnetic impact on the people and as a result of this what a tremendous response people showed on the 3rd day of the camp! Seventy to eighty people were present on the project the next morning even before the campers had gone there. Most of them had come with their own baskets, spades, pickaxes and axes. There were youths, adults and the aged; rich and the poor; privileged and the underprivileged belonging to all caste-groups. I should like to quote here an appropriate statement made in connection with community projects by Cyril Smith (1957:96) thus, 'The problem lies in knowing how to unlock these resources of human energy and how to harness them. Voluntary action can aid this process.' Now the campers and the leaders gathered their strength and confidence and they were inspired to work enthusiastically till the finish. People worked sincerely. I heard somebody exclaiming, 'what a useful work we have undertaken!' and further saying, 'Mere presence of students who do not have the experience of manual work at all is just enough to give us inspiration and enthusiasm to work.' Work was in definite progress.

### **A Grand Finale**

And the project was successfully completed within the stipulated period of ten days. On the last day of the camp people knew no bounds for their joy—for completion of work, for having sought the magnificent co-operation of their brethren, for having harnessed their inherent capacity and energy so fruitfully for socially useful cause and for having realized the long cherished goal. The people were in festive mood and this made them to receive ceremoniously and with great pomp the Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University, who was the Chief Guest for the valedictory function of the camp. The 'new road' (*Huliwarada raste*) was declared open by the Vice-Chancellor. He was taken on foot along the entire length of four furlongs of newly built road in a grand and unforgettable procession. Hundreds of people had joined the procession. There came the leaders from the neighbouring villages too. The procession was started with a *Bhajan Mela* in the front, followed by a cart, a pair of bullocks, a large chunk of the village people and a tractor behind. The people did not forget to fire the crackers.

The Vice-Chancellor appreciated the project work very much and estimated roughly (he was an engineer by training) that about Rs 4000 worth of work had been turned out within a short period. This was just an assessment in terms of financial investment but what was more important from the view point of campers and the villagers was the utilization of 'human resources' for the community development project



which, otherwise would have gone waste. 'Although the camp is over', one leader expressed gratefully, 'University has kindled light in our hearts and it will always show us the way for self-development'.

### **Conclusion**

Social Service Camp thus played a remarkable role in rejuvenating the old idea of self-help and self-development by creating in the people a sense of awareness about their own needs and inculcating in them the spirit of 'community work' for common good. People came nearer and understood mutually better. Remodelled and restructured relationship had built in them an unequivocal confidence in their strength, capacity and interest to undertake Community Developmental activities. Further they seemed to feel that they were now able to accept any need or any situation that challenges them. A long-felt need was realized in the completion of the road work. Besides, a new chapter was opened in the community life of the village with the fulfilment of this project.

### **REFERENCES**

1. Wayne McMillen, 1951. *Community Organisation for Social Welfare*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, (sixth impression).
2. Campbell G. Murphy, 1954. *Community Organization Practice*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Chicago.
3. Floyd F. Hunter, R. K. Schaffer and C. G. Sheps, 1956. *Community Organization: Action and Inaction*, the University of North Carolina Press, New York.
4. Cyril S. Smith, 1957. *People in need and other essays*, George Allen and Unwin, London.
5. Genevieve W. Carter, 1967. 'Measurement of Need' in *Social Work Research*, Ed, by Normon A. Polansky, (Fifth impression) University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
6. K. D. Gangrade, 1971. *Community Organization in India*. Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

# INDIAN PLANNING AND CONSTITUTION: SOME THOUGHTS

N. S. HIEMATH

THE classical economists believed that the capitalist economy could attain economic development, at full employment stable equilibrium level, by following a *laissez-faire* policy. But unfortunately, those 'police states' were unable to promote the 'maximum happiness of the maximum number'. The end that they had chosen was alright, but the means to achieve it was not adequate and sufficient. The rate of economic development was not satisfactory in the absence of external intervention. The great Depression of the Thirties was an eye-opener to all the capitalist countries that without planning the countries couldn't withstand the internal as well as international crisis. Since then, planning as a means to attain economic development has become an integral part of the welfare activities of the world at large. There are, of course, different paths or approaches of planning which may be adopted to realise the end objectives of development.

## Planning: its dimensions

Literally, planning means to act in a particular way or deliberately organising one's activities in such a way as to fulfil a particular objective or objectives which may be pre-determined in different walks of life. In this way, every individual may have plans of his own which he formulates in his own way and implements. This is the meaning of planning in the narrow sense. In the wider sense, with which we are concerned, planning means economic planning, which is formulated by an expert body for a particular area or region, state, nation etc. Planners have to take cognizance of the political and social environment in addition to the economic one. Environmental differences have their impact on the adoption of different approaches of planning.

Planning is a way of organising and utilising the existing human and material resources of the country to realise the pre-determined ends—political, social and economic—in a prescribed period of time. Planning for economic development, therefore, implies the external direction or regulation of economic activities by the planning authority which is in most cases, identified with the government of the state<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Gadgil, *Planning and Economic Policy in India*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 88.

In the initial stages, formulation of plan for the nation, the planners or an agency or an organization (entrusted with the work of planning), has to carefully make a thorough survey of the existing resources—both human and material—understand the socio-political set-up of the country and suggest measures to bring about required changes in all the directions in terms of the desired and pre-determined objectives to be realised at the end of a particular period. This requires a continuous organizational effort. Then only planning as a means or an instrument of social and economic change would be effective. To bring about a desired socio-economic revolution, Governments must make deliberate attempts through passing of laws to intervene in the otherwise uncontrolled socio-economic activities. Thus, planning for economic development embraces not only economic factors but also non-economic factors as well. Indian planning effort is not an exception to this.

### **Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles: Their relation to each other**

Part III of our Constitution guarantees certain Fundamental Rights to citizens. For example, right to equality, right to freedom to speech and expression, to form associations or unions; right against exploitation, right to property etc. Article 13 clause (2) imposes on the government that it should not make any laws which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall to the extent of the contravention, be void. Thus, these rights act as checks to state action.

The central theme or the entire substance of the Directive Principles of State Policy, included in Part IV of the Constitution, is made clear in Article 38, which actually echoes the Preamble. The main objective of the directive principles is to determine certain social and economic goals, which could be attained gradually by state intervention or action without any violent revolution.

The fundamental rights and the directive principles owe their origin to the past historical events of the last three-four centuries of the world. Parts III and IV of the Constitution form an organic unit. It was difficult even for the framers of the constitution to classify certain rights as fundamental rights and certain others as directive principles.<sup>2</sup>

Article 37 states that the provisions contained in Part IV are not enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down, are made fundamental in the governance of the country, and it is obligatory on

<sup>2</sup> K. S. Hegde, "Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution of India" *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, April-June 1971, P. 143.



the part of the state to apply these principles in making laws. This does not mean that the un-enforceability is the weakness of this part. 'But a mandate of the Constitution, though not enforceable by courts, is none-the-less binding on all the organs of the state. If the state ignores these mandates, it in effect ignores the constitution'.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Ambedkar also spoke in the constituent Assembly about the significance of these directive principles: 'It is the intention of the Assembly that in future both the legislative and the executive should not merely pay lip service to these principles, but they should be made the basis of the legislation and executive action that may be taken hereafter in the matter of governance of the country'.<sup>4</sup>

Late Prime Minister Nehru in one of his speeches<sup>5</sup> made it very clear that 'we agreed to them (directive principles) after a long discussion and they point out the way we must travel. The Constitution lays down certain Fundamental Rights. Both are important. The Directive Principles of State Policy represent a dynamic more towards certain objective. The fundamental rights represent something static; their object is to preserve certain rights which already exist'. If there is conflict between directive principles and fundamental rights, it is not an inherent one. However, he said that 'When the courts of the land have to consider these matters, they have to lay stress on Fundamental Rights than on the Directive Principles of State Policy'. But later, while introducing the motion for consideration of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution in the Lok Sabha on March 14, 1955, he observed that if there is inherent contradiction between Part III and IV of the Constitution, 'it is up to this Parliament to remove the contradiction and make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy'.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Justice K. S. Hegde makes an excellent observation about the relationship between the two 'Whether or not a particular mandate of the Constitution is enforceable by courts, has no bearing on the importance of that mandate. The Constitution contains many important mandates which may not be enforceable by courts of law. That does not mean that those articles must run subsidiary to the chapter on fundamental rights. The duties imposed on the State by Part III of the constitution are essentially negative in character. By the mandates contained in that Part, the State is asked not to do certain things. The breach of those mandates is made justiciable because the nature of those mandates is

<sup>3</sup> K. S. Hegde, *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Govt. of India, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, 1949-53 Publications Division, 1954, p. 492.

<sup>6</sup> *Lok Sabha Debates*, Part II, March 14, 1955, Cols. 1947-1956: Quoted in K. C. Markandan, *Directive Principles in the Indian Constitution*, Allied Publication Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1966, p. 3.

such that they can be easily enforced through courts. The mandates in Part IV are positive mandates. Thereunder the State is directed to take certain positive steps for the advancement of society, for taking those steps necessary conditions must be first created. In the very nature of things those mandates cannot be enforced through courts. It would be wrong to say that those positive mandates are of lesser significance than the mandates under Part III'.<sup>7</sup>

The directive principles are not enforceable in the courts of law because one does not know how much time they would require to fulfil the goals contained in them. On the non-enforcement clause (Article 37) the Planning Commission has commented as follows:

'The non-justiciability clause only provides that the infant state shall not be immediately called upon to account for not-fulfilling the new obligations laid upon it. A state just awakened from freedom with its many pre-occupations might be crushed under the burden unless it was free to decide the order, the time, the place and the mode of fulfilling them'.<sup>8</sup>

The Part III and IV of the Constitution are complimentary to each other. Even though the directive principles are not enforceable in the courts of law, the courts will take account of them as fundamental principles to determine incidentally the validity of any Act or statute.<sup>9</sup> Even at the Stage of introduction of any bill in the legislature the speaker or the chairman on his own has a right to rule such motion out of order on the ground that the bill goes contrary to any one of the directive principles<sup>10</sup>. All this explains that the directive principles of the state policy are equally important from the legal point of view as well compared with the fundamental rights, and why the constitution framers have separated them from the Part III of the constitution.

### **Directive Principles of State Policy: basis of Planning**

India has adopted federal setup with parliamentary democracy through its Constitution which came into force from 26th January 1950. The functions of the both the federal government and state governments have been clearly demarcated in the Union and State lists. The Central and the State governments have the power to make legislations on the subjects included in the concurrent list, and if on a particular subject both the Centre and the States pass laws, the Centre's legislation prevails over the States.

Economic and Social Planning appears as item No. 20 in the concurrent list in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. This is good

<sup>7</sup> K. S. Hegde, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by K. S. Hegde, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Sen Gupta, N. C., *The Constitution of India*, Uttarayan Ltd., Calcutta, 1950, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Sen Gupta, N. C., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

because both the Central and the state governments have to feel the responsibility of developing their areas through planning. If we look at this item, viz., economic and social planning, one is tempted to say, in a narrow legal sense, that planning in our country has no Constitutional sanction except its appearance in the seventh schedule. There is another reason for such a statement being made because no law has been passed till now on this item. Taking into account the concept of planning in its entirety one can say very well that there are many items which have been included in all the three lists to which planning is concerned. For instance, railways, highways, ports, currency, trade and commerce, interstate trade and commerce, banking, industries, mines, census, taxes, public health and sanitation, education, communications, agriculture, land, forests, fisheries, money-lending, money lenders, weights and measures, public debt, land revenue, taxes on agricultural income, taxes on lands and buildings, adulteration of foodstuffs and other goods, commercial and industrial monopolies, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, social security and social insurance, employment and unemployment, welfare of labour including conditions of work, vital statistics including registration of birth and deaths, shipping, price control etc.

There are legislations passed by many states and the Union on many of the items listed above. For example, Banking Acts, Land Reforms Acts, Industrial Disputes Act, Factory Acts, Minimum Wages Act, Industrial Development and Regulation Act, etc. If one really thinks that these items are really connected with developmental planning for the country as a whole, one would not say that planning has no constitutional backing or sanction.

Part IV of the Constitution contains the directive principles of state policy which speak of the social and economic revolution that has to be brought about in the country. They contain the broad outlines on the basis of which the ruling party may take necessary action to fulfil those obligations included in this part. Article 37, states clearly that though the provisions in Part IV are not justiciable in courts, still the principles laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country. Further, it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws.

The central theme of Part IV and the preamble to the constitution is echoed in the Article 38. The state has to strive hard to promote the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political could be attained. The Articles 39 to 51 intend that the welfare state should be established by the implementation of these directive principles. These principles are the imperatives<sup>11</sup> of planning. Our Constitution is based on sound

<sup>11</sup> Asok Chanda, *Federalism in India: A Study of Union and State Relations*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1965, p. 265.



economic foundation<sup>12</sup> whose basic idea is to have Welfare State which is more economic than political.<sup>13</sup> Article 39 states that the state has to direct its policy towards securing—(a) that the citizen, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are to distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that health and strength of workers men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age and strength;

(f) that the childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against the moral and material abandonment.

We have been seriously thinking of organising the village panchayats to make them the units of self-government as so to enable the idea of 'grass-roots planning' or 'planning from below' a success. This implied in Article 40. Article 42 says that the state shall make provision for securing just and human conditions of work and for maternity relief. It is the duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people. This is mentioned in Article 47. Article 48 states that the state shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines.

All these provisions really indicate that these could only be attained through proper planning. Many acts have been passed both by the centre and the states to implement these principles. For example, Factory Acts, Land Reforms Acts, Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, etc. Therefore, one may say that planning has constitutional or legal sanction.

We have adopted the democratic planning as enshrined in our Constitution. Late Prime Minister Nehru on 15th December, 1952 in his speech in Parliament said that 'any planning that we do must naturally be within that (democratic) setup. The Planning Commission does not have the right to draw up a programme that has no relation to

<sup>12</sup> Misra, B. R., *Economic Aspects of the Indian Constitution*, Orient Longmans Ltd., 1952, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Karve, D. G., 'Public Administration and Directive Principles of the Constitution', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. I, No. 1, Jan.—March 1955, p. 9.

our constitution or to the set up under which we work'.<sup>14</sup> The Constitution of India has laid down the broad guidelines or framework within which the national economic planning must operate.<sup>15</sup> The broad framework provided by the directive principles have been accepted as the basis of Indian planning.<sup>16</sup>

The successive Five Year Plans have been trying to further these ends enunciated in the Constitution.<sup>17</sup> The draft First Five Year Plan has clearly emphasised that 'the economic and social pattern to be attained through planning is indicated in the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in Articles 36 to 51 of the Constitution'.<sup>18</sup> These principles make it clear that for the attainment of these ends, ownership and control of the material resources of the country should be so distributed as best to subserve the common good, and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and economic power, in the hands of a few. It is in this larger perspective that the task of planning has to be envisaged'.<sup>19</sup> The basic approach of the Second Five Year Plan to further these principles has been expressed in terms of a 'socialistic pattern of society' which is a more concretised expression to secure an economic advance along democratic and egalitarian lines.<sup>20</sup> The Parliament's resolution of Dec. 1954, which contained that '(1) the objective of economic policy should be a Socialistic Pattern of Society; and (2) towards this and the tempo of economic activity in general and industrial development in particular should be stepped up to the maximum possible extent',<sup>21</sup> has become the basis of our planning.

### Planning Commission

There is no provision for planning machinery viz., planning commission in the constitution. Absence of such a provision should not be taken to mean lack of serious concern with or ignorance about planning

<sup>14</sup> Govt. of India, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, op.cit., p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> Govt. of India, *Administrative Reforms Commission*, Report on Machinery for Planning, March 1968, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> K. Santhanam, *Democratic Planning: Problems and Pitfalls*, Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> V. T. Krishnamachari, holds the same view—'India's Five Year Plans follow and are based on these Principles'—in his book—*Fundamentals of Planning in India*, Orient Longmans, Bombay 1962, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Govt. of India, *The First Five Year Plan, A Draft Outline*, Planning Commission, July 1951, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Govt. of India, *The First Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Dec. 1952, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Govt. of India, *Second Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, 1956, p. 24. For detailed meaning of the concept of Socialist Pattern of Society, see pp. 21-24.

<sup>21</sup> Govt. of India, *Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-74*, Final Report Planning Commission, p. 2.

on the part of the makers of the constitution. Political leaders have been very much conscious of the significance of planning since the Russian Revolution and it led to the appointment of the National Planning Committee in 1938 by the Indian National Congress. The Advisory Planning Board, appointed by the Interim Government in 1946, recommended to the Government to constitute the Planning Commission at the Centre to devote itself continuously to the entire field of economic activity.<sup>22</sup> After independence, the Government of India in their Resolution on Industrial Policy of 6th April, 1948, had proposed to establish National Planning Commission to formulate programmes of development and secure their execution.<sup>23</sup> Even in the Constituent Assembly<sup>24</sup> a member expressed the need for such an agency for fulfilling the objectives included in the directive principles.

Even though the framers of the Constitution were fully aware (above references show) of the necessity of an agency to formulate and execute the plans, they had purposely avoided to make a provision for it, in the Constitution. 'The omission to make Constitutional provision for planning body is sought to be explained away by the argument that precision with which the composition, functions and place of a Statutory Commission in the administration of the country would have to be defined, would have imported a rigidity and thus defeated the very purpose of constituting such an authority. Flexibility is held out as the very essence of planning in the face of the dynamic nature of development. Both in composition and functions, the Commission should therefore remain able to respond to the challenge of changing social needs of the country'.<sup>25</sup>

In a democratic planning of our type, the plans can be successfully formulated and implemented only through a greater sense of participation and involvement by means of consultation and advice at all stages on the part of the people and central and state governments. Therefore, the Planning Commission was set up, as an expert advisory body, by a Resolution on 15th March, 1950.<sup>26</sup> As per the resolution, the Commission can give advice to both the central and the state Governments on matters

<sup>22</sup> The Indian Institute of Public Administration, *The Organization of the Government of India*, Asia Publishing House, 1958, p. 342.

<sup>23</sup> Govt. of India, *Report of the Fiscal Commission 1949-50*, p. 410. The Resolution is reprinted in this report.

<sup>24</sup> Govt. of India, *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 305.

<sup>25</sup> Asoka Chanda, *Federalism in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 276; A. N. Zha in his Article—'Planning, the Federal Principle and Parliamentary Democracy' *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XI, No. 2, April-June 1965, p. 169—Expresses similar opinion.

<sup>26</sup> Govt. of India, *Estimates Committee 1957-58: Twenty-first Report* (Second Lok Sabha) on Planning Commission; Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, April 1958.



relating to planning. Since the establishment of the Planning Commission, the strength and the composition of it have changed many times. If it were to be a statutory organization, it would have been very difficult to introduce the required changes as and when the circumstances demand.

Constitutional sanction for, 'planning as a means to attain economic development', and 'planning Commission as a body or an agency to formulate the plans and supervise their execution', are two different things. It may be said that the Constitution itself has provided the broad framework, to national planning in the former sense (which has been argued in the previous section), in terms of the Directive principles, but there is no provision for the planning machinery. This is because, the framers of the Constitution were guided by (a) 'India's needs and maintaining a balance between centre and state powers which would conform to its special conditions',<sup>27</sup> and (b) 'considerations of expediency, by the conjecture of circumstances in which the people for whom the Constitution is meant are planned, than by those of logical precision and abstract *a priori* principles of political theory'.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> V. T. Krishnamachari, *Fundamentals of Planning in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> A. K. Ghosal, 'Federalism in the Indian Constitution', *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct.-Dec. 1953, p. 317.

## THE NATURE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: A DISCUSSION WITHIN A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK\*

V. T. PATIL

THE aim of this paper is to take a look at the American Revolution (1776), within a conceptual framework and then discuss as to whether it was a real revolution.

To begin with, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to two particular sources, *A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory* (1957) by Talcott Parsons and N. Smelser, and *Toward a Dynamic Theory of Foreign Policy* by Patrick McGowan. McGowan essentially uses the Parsonian Scheme but goes further by making some alterations. While the Parsonian Scheme posits four essential structures (economy, polity, social structure and culture), McGowan adds a fifth essential structure (boundary maintenance) to define an autonomous social system. (See figure one at the end). I am only using the concept of an autonomous social system (with its five essential structures) as a theoretical frame of reference for a discussion of the nature of the American Revolution. Therefore, I will not go into a detailed description of the autonomous social system, as that would be mere repetition and not particularly germane to the topic under consideration.

The fundamental criterion for an autonomous social system to be an ongoing process is the balanced interdependence between the various essential structures. It signifies stability within a system composed of a number of autonomous forces. Whenever the equilibrium is disturbed the changes induced in one structure has a multiplier effect, causing changes in the other essential structures. Higher the degree of interaction, and larger the dysfunctionality in the essential structures, greater the chances of 'system stress'. System stress, therefore, occurs when the degree of dysfunctionality is so large, that the performance of one or more essential structures moves beyond the critical range, inducing all the essential structures to vary beyond acceptable limits.

Some writers regard the American Revolution as a genuine revolution—the first of its kind in modern history. While some others do not view it in the same way. With the result, the writings on the Revolution abound in different opinions, and at times, the proving of conflicting and opposite viewpoints. It was so from the beginning.

---

\* I am indebted to Dr. George Breckenridge, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada, for his helpful comments.

In terms of using the concept of an autonomous social system to examine the nature of the American Revolution, the following assumptions are made:

1. In our conception a Revolution can occur only when there is a change beyond acceptable limits (critical range) in all the essential structures.

2. To the question, is violence a necessary condition of revolution? we refuse to take any position. In other words, we allow for a violent as well as a peaceful revolution. This is in the firm belief that under certain conditions, a revolution could be violent or non-violent. This assumption, hopefully, reflects the reality of the real world.

Hannah Arendt in her book, *On Revolution* argues that no revolution is possible without violence. Citing the beginnings of our history to biblical and classical antiquity (Cain slew Abel, and Romulus slew Remus), she traces the beginnings of all revolutions to violence<sup>1</sup>. However, it is our contention that a non-violent revolution is not only possible but highly probable. One could, for instance, argue that the most realistic revolution already taking place in the Western society, is not by any means a violent one, in that it lays emphasis on the integral parts of the culture. To any perceptive observer the beginnings of a 'trend' away from material consumption as an end in itself is a most momentous and hopeful development in the Western world. This in due course, may lead to fundamental changes in 'societal dominant' values. This is indeed, a highly fascinating and revealing phenomenon, for it speaks of the capacity for peaceful adjustment of the countries in the West.

3. The use of the concept of equilibrium in the study of revolutions needs to be explained. From a purely theoretical consideration, a society can be in a 'perfect' state of contentment as manifested in a harmoniously balanced relationship between all the essential structures in the autonomous social system. But in reality, any human society is in a permanent state of 'imperfect equilibrium'. So initially, an assumption is made, that the autonomous social system is in a state of 'imperfect equilibrium' with the essential structures varying within acceptable limits. This problem was solved by defining the equilibrium region in such a way that it accounts for 'imperfect equilibrium'.<sup>2</sup>

4. Our conceptual scheme has no moral overtones nor any value judgements are implied.

5. It is assumed that all systemic influences are felt through their impact on the essential structures.

---

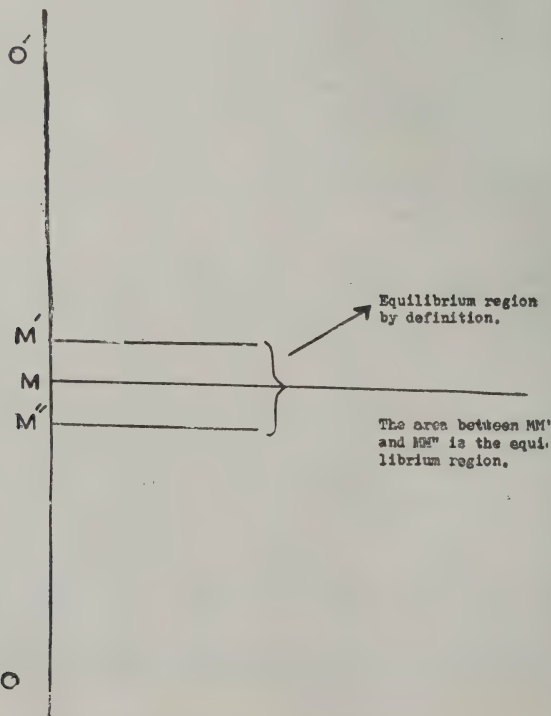
1 Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), p. 10.



We shall now move to explain the idea of a revolution by relying on the principle of vibrations, which is used in the construction of bridges. Now, a bridge is composed of steel structures or beams which are supported by trusses. Each one of these components is vibrating at a given moment with a certain frequency and range. But, if there is any disturbance or dysfunctionality in one of the components and depending upon the impact of the initial disturbance on the other components, and further, if this leads to dysfunctionality in all the components beyond the critical range (acceptable limits), then 'system stress' occurs which leads to the collapse of the bridge. Existing pressures, reinforcing cumulatively, logically lead to an explosive situation—a revolution.

At this stage an elaboration of the conditions of revolution, will help place the later discussion on the nature of the American revolution in a proper perspective.

Revolution is a concept which has become part and parcel of the vocabulary of mankind. To some this connotes an idea of 'change'. To, Hannah Arendt 'change in the sense of a new beginning'<sup>3</sup> constitutes



<sup>3</sup> Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

a revolution. But her definition begs the question, as to the nature and extent of change. How 'new', 'change' has to be, and under what circumstances and conditions 'change' becomes 'new'? Only when these problems are solved, one could talk of a change in the sense of a new beginning. A revolution can be called a revolution only *ex post facto*, and that too only when it has succeeded. Some see revolution as a violent upsurge leading to the substitution of one group by another group to control power. Revolution, as a concept, is used in its stricter and looser sense. But the real difficulty with such an elusive concept, is that it cannot be reduced to a neat formula, or an universally accepted body of rules. One is on the horns of a dilemma. For, the more precise the definition, greater the chances of the concept being defined narrowly. Moreover, in practice, it becomes very difficult to distinguish between revolution and other forms, such as rebellion, insurrection, civil war, counter-revolution and *coup d'etat*. But, if we define revolution in broader and comprehensive terms, then it becomes far removed from reality and remains an utopian conception. However, conceptualization, being a significant part of any theory-building, we have confronted the problem of an adequate terminological definition, by visualising a broader definition. In our scheme, revolution is accounted for, not only by changes in the political structure, but also in different aspects of the society, such as its culture, economy and its social structure.

Does Revolution include the idea of freedom? This question is posed because a distinction needs to be made between liberation and freedom. For instance, one can ask the question as to how far the Americans were free even after their liberation in 1776? This leads one to define freedom and then distinguish it with liberation. This need not detain us any longer, but suffice it to say that the idea of freedom must be given due consideration in any definition of Revolution.

When does a revolution begin and when does it end? What are the criteria we use to decide as to when a revolution begins and ends? For instance, when can you trace the beginnings of the American Revolution? Did it begin in 1765 with the Stamp Act or the First Continental Congress in 1774 or the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775 or even the Fourth of July in 1776? Or can you trace the beginning to periods prior to these? One cannot confidently indicate a cut off point, and then proclaim that, that marks the beginning of the American Revolution. As it is difficult to pin point the origin of the Revolution, the same problem arises as to its end.

Does revolution require consciousness? There are two viewpoints on this score. Some contend that revolution is the product of evolution. It is a natural growth, determined by historical forces which are beyond the ken of human planning. Others hold the view, that revolution is

the result of conscious, deliberate, organized efforts of dedicated men. How far this consciousness was there at the time of the American Revolution? The American Revolution in its early stages was characterized by an active, ably directed pressure group activity, which helped to mobilize public opinion against British authority. Arthur M. Schlesinger in his book, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* brings out very clearly the role played by pressure groups in mobilizing public opinion in favour of the revolution.<sup>4</sup> In terms of consciousness, therefore, we find that there was an organized movement by the merchants or trading communities to rouse public opinion against the pernicious measures introduced by the mother country.

An accumulation of forces over a long period in history may result in rising expectations followed by rising frustrations. This pattern seems to apply to the American Revolution. Professor J. C. Davies points out how the J Curve fits the American Revolution.<sup>5</sup> After a period of stability and steady economic growth, the colonies had to undergo hardships, as a series of repressive acts were imposed by Britain. The land West of Appalachians was closed for settlement, added to this, were the Coercive Acts of April, 1774, which cumulatively led to the events of 1776. The element of time, success and motivation are also important in the causation of a revolution.

With these preliminary conceptual considerations, we shall move into an analysis of the nature of the American Revolution. The United States of America, as a political entity was undoubtedly created by a 'revolution', which found its expression in the Declaration of Independence of 1776. However, the term 'revolution' can have different aspects. This term has been applied with political, social, cultural, economic (industrial) etc., changes of different degrees of magnitude. But this paper will develop the idea, that the Revolution was essentially political in its import and significance.

To understand the nature of the American Revolution one must to some extent comprehend the changes in the European society. For, the forces that changed the traditional European society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced conditions which were favourable for the thirteen colonies to cut their link with the mother country.

Coupled with this active attempt by man to understand his surroundings came the discovery of the New World. This meant that man now

---

<sup>4</sup> A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, (New York: F. Ungar Pub., Co., 1957).

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Davies, 'Towards a Theory of Revolution', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, February, 1962, p. 15.



had a frontier to which he could go in an attempt to mould his destiny. No longer would man's destiny be closely dependent on the caprices of a ruling class supposedly placed in power by the creator himself. With the formation of these colonies, and as their population increased, the value to the mother country was also great, because of the raw materials which could be had in plenty. Trade was in such items as sugar, tobacco, timber etc., which were shipped across the Atlantic to Europe. This created a middle class which began to have a vested interest in trade with the colonies, as their well-being depended upon it. The strength of this middle class increased as rapidly as the nobility declined. Wealth began to supersede title throughout Europe as the impoverished nobility faced a challenge never before seen. Moreover, the wars fought by Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century put her in a financially difficult position. For the first time, after the Seven Years War, taxes were levied on the colonies to meet this exigency. When Parliament took such a step, it did without the consent of the colonial assemblies. Using the classical conception of corporate authority the colonies felt that their assemblies were alone the ultimate judges of the extent of authority the Crown and Parliament would be permitted to exercise within the colonial borders. The Americans envisioned a perfect state, not dependent upon Britain, with a view to striking a new path on their own. In Britain, 'the American governments are considered as corporations empowered to make by-laws, existing only during the pleasure of Parliament'.<sup>6</sup> Charles Andrews too argues on similar lines. He views the Revolution as basically political, with a conflict of interests developing between the colonial legislatures and the British Parliament. The colonial assemblies were not prepared to accept an inferior status in their relationship to Parliament. 'Primarily, the American Revolution was a political and constitutional movement and only secondarily one that was either financial, commercial or social. At bottom the fundamental issue was the political independence of the colonies, and in the last analysis the conflict lay between the British Parliament and the colonial assemblies, each of which was probably more sensitive, self-conscious and self-important than was the voting population that it represented'.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, it can be seen that the Revolution was the result of a conflict between Britain and the colonies, firstly over the extent of authority of each, and secondly over their respective economic interests. This meant that the old constituted bodies of the colonial period, like the legislative

---

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in C. L. Becker, *Beginnings of the American People*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Andrews, 'The American Revolution—An Interpretation', in *Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*, ed., by Esmond Wright, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), p. 78.

assemblies were liberated by the revolution. The colonial governor was no longer to act as the link between the colonies and the British Government. The umbilical chord was snapped. But, nevertheless, the people generally were not affected much. They renounced their allegiance to the king, but, this did not in any way, affect the contracts and mutual associations they had entered into.

It can also be argued that the American Revolution was the product of traditionalism and localism. The early immigrants to the colonies were controlled by forces of traditionalism and localism. This was so with the settlers in Virginia. They were torn between their loyalty to the working ways of ancient England, and their loyalty to a new land which was yet to achieve its freedom from the mother country. This strength of traditionalism later found expression in the American Revolution, when the colonies demanded the same rights which the Englishmen enjoyed. The Revolution had been solely a colonial rebellion aimed at achieving the limited goal of independence from Britain, and therefore, in essence, a conservative movement. Undoubtedly, the Revolution meant a change in authority, yet the governments in the states were 'old in their main principles'. For, the political institutions, as they began emerging after the advent of Independence, exhibited remarkable similarities to the colonial period. Colonial legislatures in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware and to some extent in Massachusetts had achieved autonomous status even before the Revolution.<sup>8</sup> The colonial legislatures were transformed into provincial legislatures, and in the final stage emerging as vigorous and vibrant legislatures. All this discussion brings out the evolutionary aspect of the American Revolution. We should be cautious in our approach, for it 'is natural that writers who deal with revolutions should be tempted to exaggerate their revolutionary aspects. This has been true to the American Revolution . . . They have written as though the political institutions of the later period owed nothing, or at any rate very little, to those of the earlier. But the fact is that American history, during more than three centuries, has very few sharp breaks in it. The law of continuity runs through it like the reinforcing rods of a concrete wall. The Revolution retained far more than it swept away'.<sup>9</sup>

In his book, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, Crane Brinton<sup>10</sup> views the revolutions in England, France, Russia and America as a kind of

---

<sup>8</sup> See Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution*, (1775-1789), (New York: A. M. Kelley, Publishers, pp. 2-14 and p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> W. B. Munro, *The Government of the United States*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946), p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952).

fever. Firstly, there are indications that a disease is on its way, but not yet sufficiently developed, to be called as such. The signs, called prodromal, are dormant a generation or so earlier, to the actual outbreak of the revolution, but are very difficult to detect. Secondly, the full symptoms arise and this marks the beginning of the fever of revolution. The fever rises and falls, with advances and retreats, to a crisis, frequently accompanied by delirium, the cardinal principle of most violent revolutions, the Reign of Terror. Then follows a period of convalescence, usually marked by a relapse or two. Finally, the fever ends with the recovery of the patient, perhaps strengthened in some sense by the experience, partially immunized from a similar attack, for some time, but, may be, not wholly made over into a new man.

One feels that Brinton has stretched his imagination too far in applying the theory of a fever (chart) to the American Revolution. It may have contained certain indications or symptoms of a fever, but it never reached the crisis point. The nearest America experienced, anything comparable to a Reign of Terror, may probably have been their treatment of the United Empire Loyalists. By no means was this a great scene of violence. This may be viewed as mere aberrations.

The other three revolutions (French, Russian and British) were primarily directed at overthrowing the existing social order, whereas the American War of Independence was 'territorial—nationalist' in nature. 'Men like John Adams and Washington were not attempting to overturn our social and economic system, but rather to set the English North American colonies up as an independent nation-state.'<sup>11</sup> In about twenty years time after 1776, the colonies, permeated by a very high sense of idealism formulated a political philosophy and transformed the colonies into a sovereign nation under the Articles of the confederation.

Let us consider at some length, J. F. Jameson's views on the American Revolution as adumbrated in his book, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*.<sup>12</sup> He saw the Revolution as a social movement of vast dimensions and of immense significance. He deplored the tendency to regard the epoch-making era in American history purely from a political or a military angle. This he felt clouded the real significance of that period. He analysed the American Revolution from the social perspective giving a wider focus to draw meaningful conclusions. He viewed it as a class conflict—a social movement by the lower classes to achieve a greater degree of democracy within American Society.

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, (Boston, Beacon Press, 1965).



Jameson asserted that the 'stream of revolution, once started, could not be confined within narrow banks, but spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspirations were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces thus let loose. The relations of social classes to each other, the institution of slavery, the system of land-holdings, the course of business, the forms and spirit of the intellectual and religious life, all felt the transforming hand of revolution, all emerged from under it in shapes advanced many degrees nearer to those we know'.<sup>13</sup> He lists the impact of the Revolution in terms of the widening of the suffrage, redistribution of the great estates of Tory refugees, separation of Church and State, restriction of negro slavery and improvement in land-inheritance laws. In terms of our essential structures (see figures 1 to 5 at the end), and if Jameson's thesis is accepted (socio-economic changes),

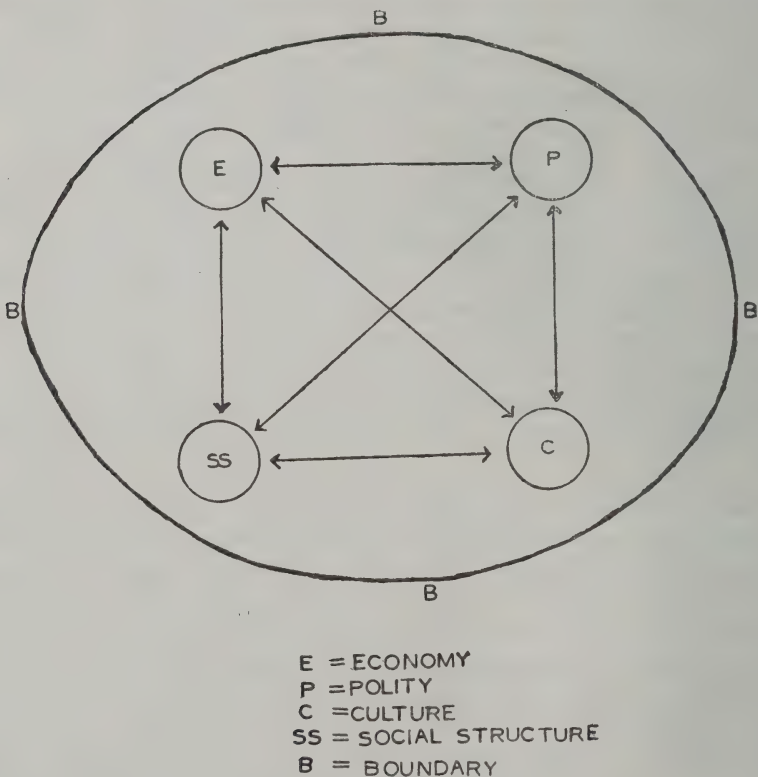


FIG. 1

This figure represents the five essential structures of an autonomous social system.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

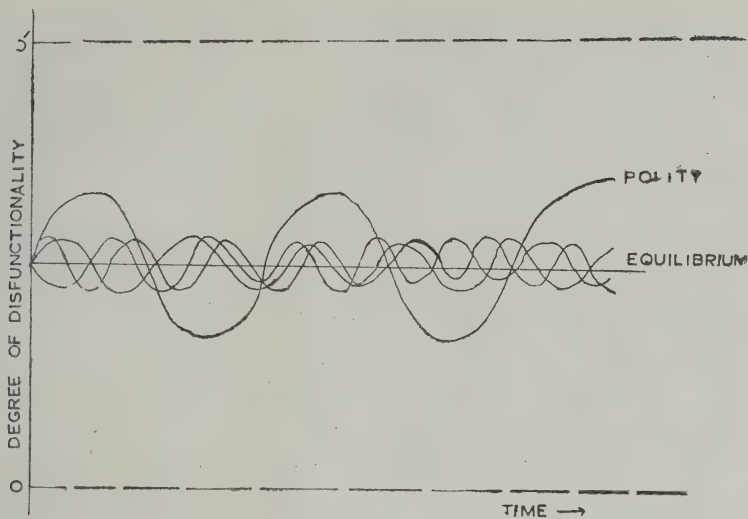


FIG. 2

This figure represents the American Revolution. Only *one* essential structure (polity) vibrates beyond the 'critical range'

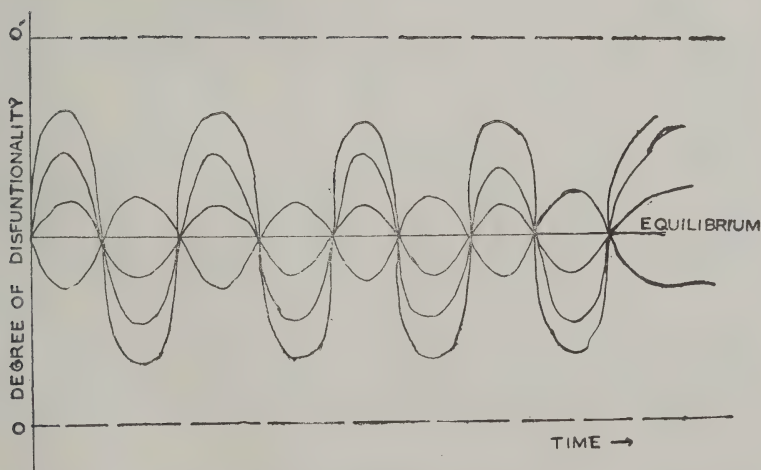


FIG. 3

This figure represents the condition when *two* essential structures vibrate beyond the 'critical range'

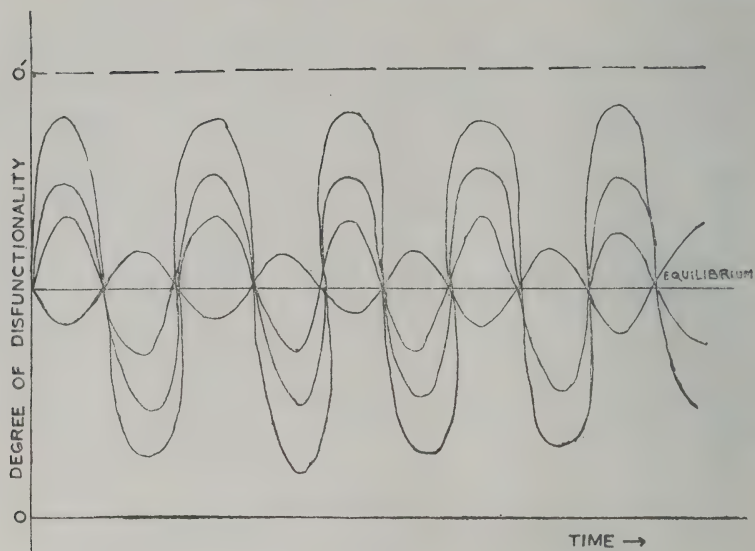


FIG. 4

This figure represents the condition when *three* essential structures vibrate beyond the 'critical range'

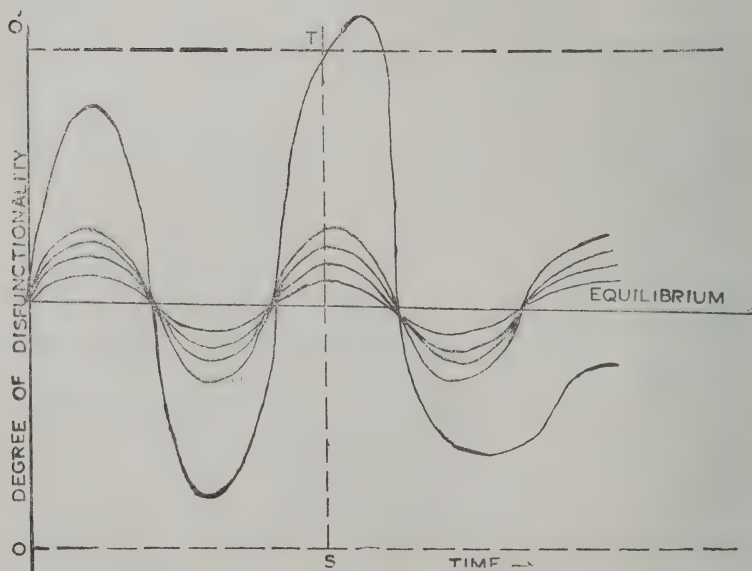


FIG. 5

This figure represents a total, comprehensive revolution, where *all* the essential structures vibrate beyond, the 'critical range.' Revolution occurs at time 'T'



then an apparent conclusion could be the occurrence of a real revolution. But we shall rebutt his thesis by examining his main ideas.

Fredrich B. Tolles<sup>14</sup> takes issue with some of Jameson's conclusions. His contention was that, Jameson was too sweeping when he equated colonial aristocrats with Loyalists and came to the conclusion that this group was just erased. It is pointed out that, on the whole, this just was not the case. Some of the old aristocracy emigrated, but generally, after the Revolution this class adjusted to the changed circumstances and were absorbed into the main stream of national life. The abolition of primogeniture and entail did not lead to any radical change in the customs or in the social structure. By making wills, property could be equally divided among the sons. Most Virginia planters followed this practice. Separation of the Church and State and religious equality of all before the law, led to the curtailment of the established Church.

If the American Revolution could be considered as a social movement, as Jameson argues, then it remains to be established that the status of the common man was elevated. There is no doubt that a sense of dignity came to the common man, who was essentially the small farmer or the town artisan. But, did the Revolution lead to democratization of the entire society? Our contention is that it was not democratic (their conception of democracy was not as advanced as ours) on the eve of the Revolution, nor is there any evidence which substantiates the argument that the American states became democratic in the twenty-five years following 1776. If, as claimed by Jameson, the revolution was a successful social movement by the lower classes, why did not all the state constitutions abolish property qualifications for voting? Some of the state constitutions, actually imposed higher property qualifications than before which meant that a lesser number of people had voting rights compared to the period before 1776. If this was the case, how could the other classes (peasant, proprietors, artisans etc.) shave political power, so as to usher in economic democracy? Robert E. Brown<sup>15</sup> concluded that the vast majority of adult males in Massachusetts were farmers whose real estate holdings were sufficient to meet the necessary property qualifications for voting, that the colonial society was not stratified and that class distinctions did not exist.

As far as Massachusetts was concerned, political democracy may have existed, but what about the other colonies? Regarding stratification and class distinction, one could argue that these were prevalent

---

<sup>14</sup> Frederich B. Tolles, 'The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement: A Revaluation', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. LX, 1954, pp. 1-12.

<sup>15</sup> Robert E. Brown, *Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1955).

to some extent, because slavery was abolished only later. The Negroes who formed one-fifth of the total population did not have voting rights, nor was there social and economic equality. Social and political equality came to the Negroes only after the Civil War when slavery was abolished along with constitutional amendments providing for Civil Rights. Consequently, Jameson's flat assertion that 'political democracy came to the United States as a result of economic democracy'<sup>16</sup> is not substantiated by the available evidence of the period. If we agree, that political independence is antecedent to economic independence, likewise, it can be posited that political democracy is a prior condition to economic democracy. If political democracy is absent, the result is, that, the few who monopolise political power, being in a commanding position, manipulate and concentrate economic power too. This is generally the rule in all democracies. Moreover, there was no 'economic democracy' prior to 'political democracy' in 1776, as the Negroes who formed a good segment of the population were still treated as slaves.<sup>17</sup>

The Revolution did nothing to ameliorate the status of women. It was only after 75 years, that the Declaration of Independence was amended to provide for the sentence, 'All men and women are created equal'.

However, Jameson's thesis that the American Revolution can be considered as a social movement by the lower classes to achieve a greater degree of democracy within the American society, is not only interesting, but is a welcome shift in focus from the traditional approaches which tended to slur over this aspect.

In conclusion, we can say that the American Revolution has a prominent place in the history of revolutions. In a way, it may be considered as a slow, but sometimes tortuous beginning of what eventually would turn out to be a great industrial nation. This period, could be said to have led to a consolidation of various forces. National groups began to seek separate national identities, the political framework was gradually but certainly laid. Some writers regard the revolution as a comprehensive revolution. Nevertheless, in terms of our conceptual scheme, there was change beyond the critical range only in one essential structure (polity), while changes in the other essential structures were significant, but not sufficient enough to hit the boundary, so as to cause 'system stress'.

---

<sup>16</sup> Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> In the eight years succeeding the Revolution about 10,000 slaves were freed. But this is too small a number, considering the fact that the total strength was nearly one million.

## ASSUMPTIONS

Disturbance (dysfunctionality) in the system=Summation of disturbances (dysfunctionalities) in the essential structures. If the sum is less than the boundary limit gives by the existing social system (consisting of five essential structures) then there will be a tendency to return to the equilibrium and no revolution occurs. But if the sum is larger than the boundary limit, then stress' occurs, and at time, 't' the revolution occurs. These are the assumptions pertaining to diagrams 2, 3, 4 and 5.



# SOME TEMPLES OF NORTH DHARWAR DIST. AND THE HOYSALA ARCHITECTURE

A. SUNDARA

## Introduction:

IT IS too well known<sup>1</sup> to repeat here that soon after the rise of Vishnuvardhana into power by about 1108 A.D. and under him, the Hoysala Kingdom began to expand on the south as well as the north and attained almost an imperial status. Vishnuvardhana's steady and victorious conquests into the realms of the Ganga and the Cholas in the South and also into the kingdom of the Chalukyas of Kalyana as far north as Bankapur and perhaps Lakkundi<sup>2</sup>, threw open the doors of the cultural attainments of the people and the kings of the respective regions and provided an opportunity to compare their cultural standard and achievements so far with those of the newly conquered. Gifted with a new vision and rich with materials, wealth and power acquired in the wars and fired with a spirit of competition, he by vigorously making use of the talents and genius of both the regions caused to be built several temples, in his kingdom. This tremendous temple building activity effloresced into a typical style of architecture, now called a 'Hoysala Style'. Thus came up the Kirti Narayana of Talakad, the Keshava temple in Belur<sup>3</sup>, by about 1116-17 A.D. and perhaps the Vira-Narayana of Gadag and subsequently many other temples that have in fact become the world famous as works of great art and immortalised the Hoysalas. The spirit and the tradition of Vishnuvardhana were inherited by his successors, especially Viraballala, another great king of the dynasty, to whose reign, belong the largest number of temples.

## *The Hoysala architecture: The Chalukyan influence*

While estimating the extent and spheres of the influences of the architectural traditions of the Chalukyas of the north and the Ganga-Cholas of the south in the make up of the Hoysala architecture, it is generally said that the stellate plan so produced by stoping a rotating square on a pivot at required regular intervals, and thus resulting in

<sup>1</sup> Derrett, J. D. M., 1957: The Hoysalas. Oxford. Coelho, W. 1950: The Hoysala Vamsha. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ, ಎಸ್. : ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪ.

<sup>2</sup> Coelho, W. *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup> Coelho, *op. cit.*, p. 74. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ, ಎಸ್. : ಆದೇ ಕಡೆ, ಪು. ೨೧.

regular recesses and triangular projections the apices of which will form a perfect circle when all joined (See Fig. 2); the division of the walls into two zones for decorative treatment; the open pillared mandapa; some forms of the pillars etc. owe much to the former. In these respects the temples like the Someshvara<sup>4</sup> of Gadag and the Doddabasavanna<sup>5</sup> of Dambal of the Kalyana Chalukyan period, are usually supposed to have offered the models to the Hoysala architect to adopt.

But it should be noted here that no other temples of the Kalyana Chalukyan or earlier period, of the types of the Someshvara and Doddabasavanna, have come to light, hitherto. Besides, the Doddabasavanna temple itself built in Deccan trap or dolerite stone, does not seem to be earlier than the Keshava temple at Belur which is probably the earliest Hoysala temple of the stellate plan of the circle type. Its construction was probably completed slightly later than that of the Keshava temple. For, it was probably the same temple the construction of which is referred to in a Kannada inscription found on the back of an image of Maruti in a Maruti temple at Dambal<sup>6</sup>. According to this inscription Ajaya Nayaka, son of Rebbarasa and Barikabbe constructed a Shiva temple called 'Ajameshvara' in Dharmavolal and Mahamandaleshavara Hermadiyarasa, the Governor of Masavadi, a subordinate to Vikramaditya VI, gifted lands to the temple on ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ವರ್ಷದ ೪೫ ನೆಯ ಕ್ರೋಧಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಮ ಸೋಮವಾರ, corresponding to either 24th Dec. 1124 or 11th January 1126. Further the inscription gives the location of the temple in the village and its unusual style: ಧರ್ಮಪೂಜ್ಯ ಲೈಶಾನ್ಯ ದಿಶಾಭಾಗದೋರ್ ಶಿವ ಭವನಮಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿದನದ್ವಪ್ತ ದಂದಡೆ || ಕುಳ ಪರ್ವತಮಂ ತಂದನಳವಿಗೆ ವರೆ ಕಡೆದು ಪಡೆದರೆನಿಸಿಯು ಮಂತಾ ಪೂಜಲಿಗೆ ಕಳತದಂತೆರಿ ವಿಳಾಸಮಂ ತಾಳ್ವಿತ್ತ ಜ್ಞಮೇಶ್ವರ ಭವನಂ ||

The temple now called Doddabasavanna is in the north-eastern outskirts of the village and in comparison with those of the contemporary or earlier temples<sup>7</sup> in the same place and in the nearby localities at Lakkundi, Gadag, of unusual type.

<sup>4</sup> Note the exceedingly rich and minutely ornate carvings on the exteriors of the adishthana, and the horizontal division of the wall into two zones also excessively carved. See Percy Brown: The Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), 3rd, Ed. 1956, plate CXXVIII, Fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Note the stellate plan of the circle type of the temple and the wall decorations. See Percy Brown *op. cit.*, Plate CXXIX, Fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> South Indian Inscriptions (SII) Vol. XI, pt. 2, No. 175, pp. 227-30. There is another inscription set up in front of the Doddabasavanna temple, dated saka 1106 (=A. D. 1184) mentioning Svayambhu Mailabheshvara. See inscription No. 57 in SII Vol. XV, 1964, pp. 74-78. It is not clear if the god referred to is that now called Doddabasavanna.

<sup>7</sup> Near the Doddabasavanna temple, is another temple which is originally Jaina, built by Sangava Setti according to an inscription dated 1098 A.D. and thus is earlier than the Doddabasavanna (i.e., Ajameshvara) temple. See SII, Vol. XI, pt. II, pp. 175, No. 144.

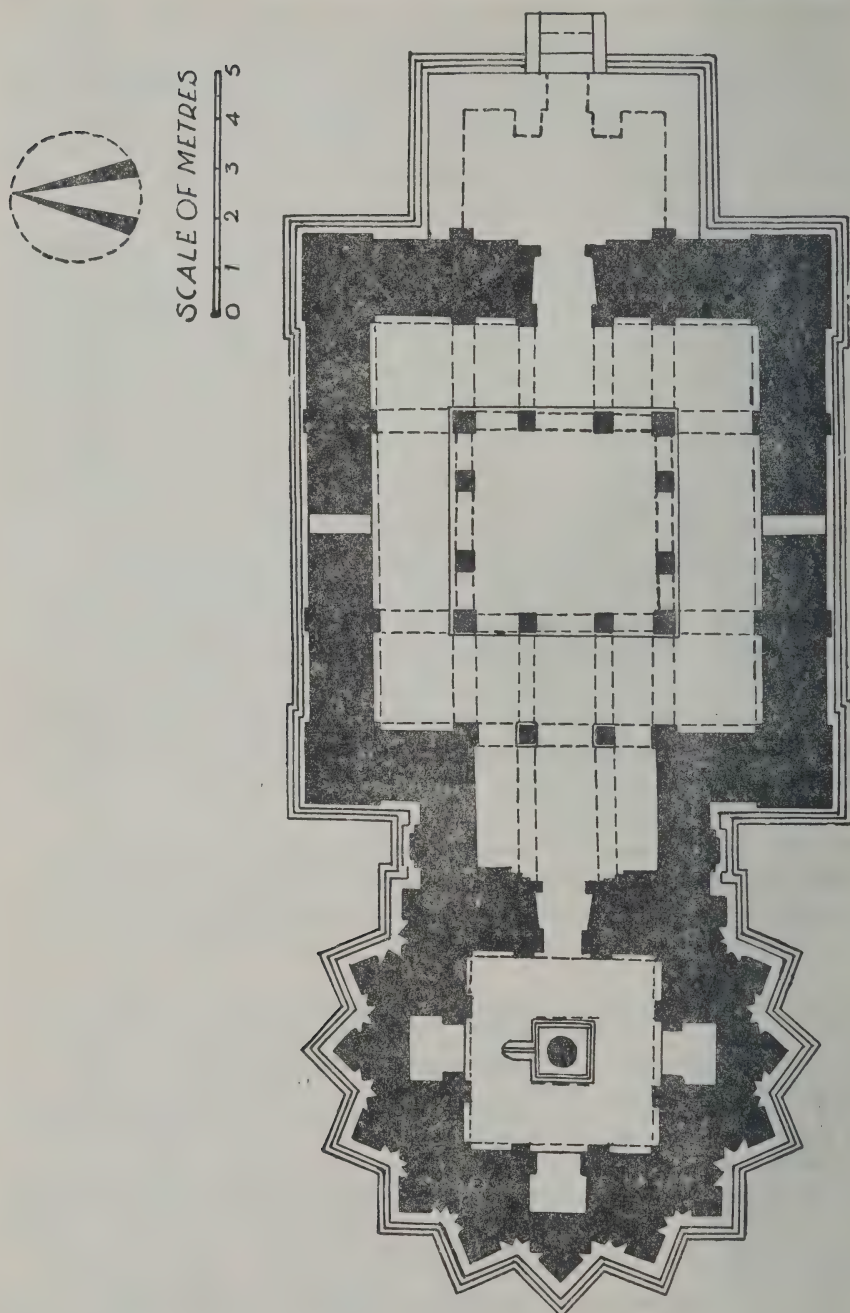
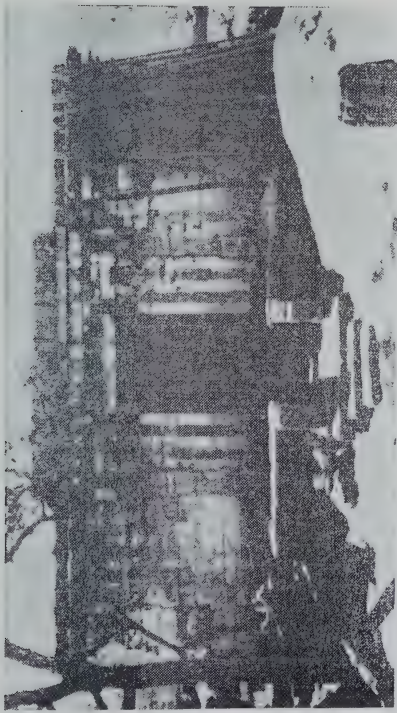


FIG. 1  
Paramesvara Temple, Konnur, (Dt. Dharwar) 860 A.D.





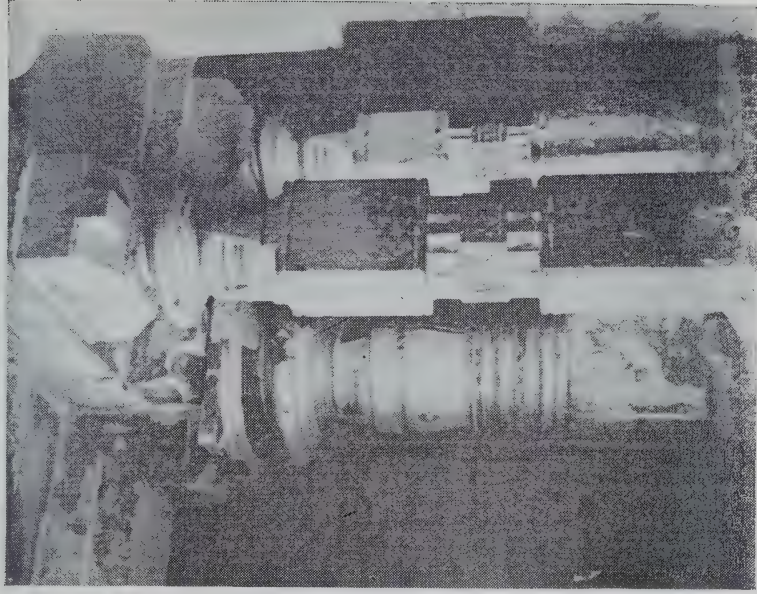
1



2

# PLATE I

3



## KONNUR—Parameshvara Temple:

1. Front view from east
2. Rear view from west
3. Pillars in the sabhamandapa



PLATE II

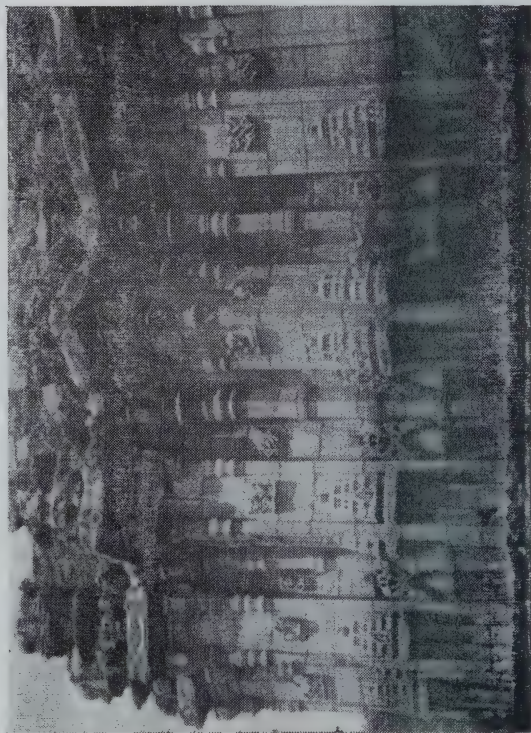


SAVADI—Brahmadeva Temple:

1. Front view from east
2. Side view of the garbhagriha from south
3. Details of the walls of the garbhagriha



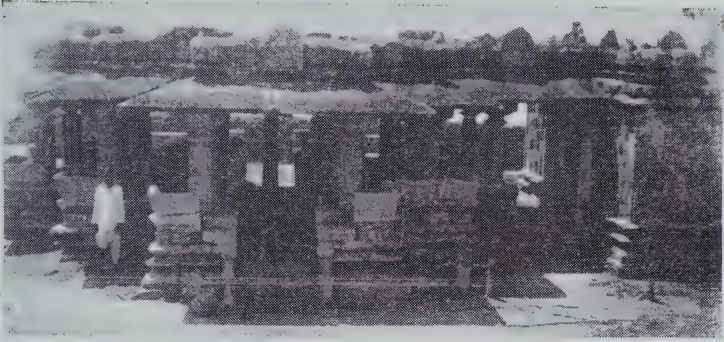
1



2

3

PLATE III



ITGI—Shambhulinga Temple: The open sabhamandapa, its graduated plan and pillars of different types



SUDI—Mallikarjuna Temple: Rear view from north-west. Note the dilapidated platform in the foreground





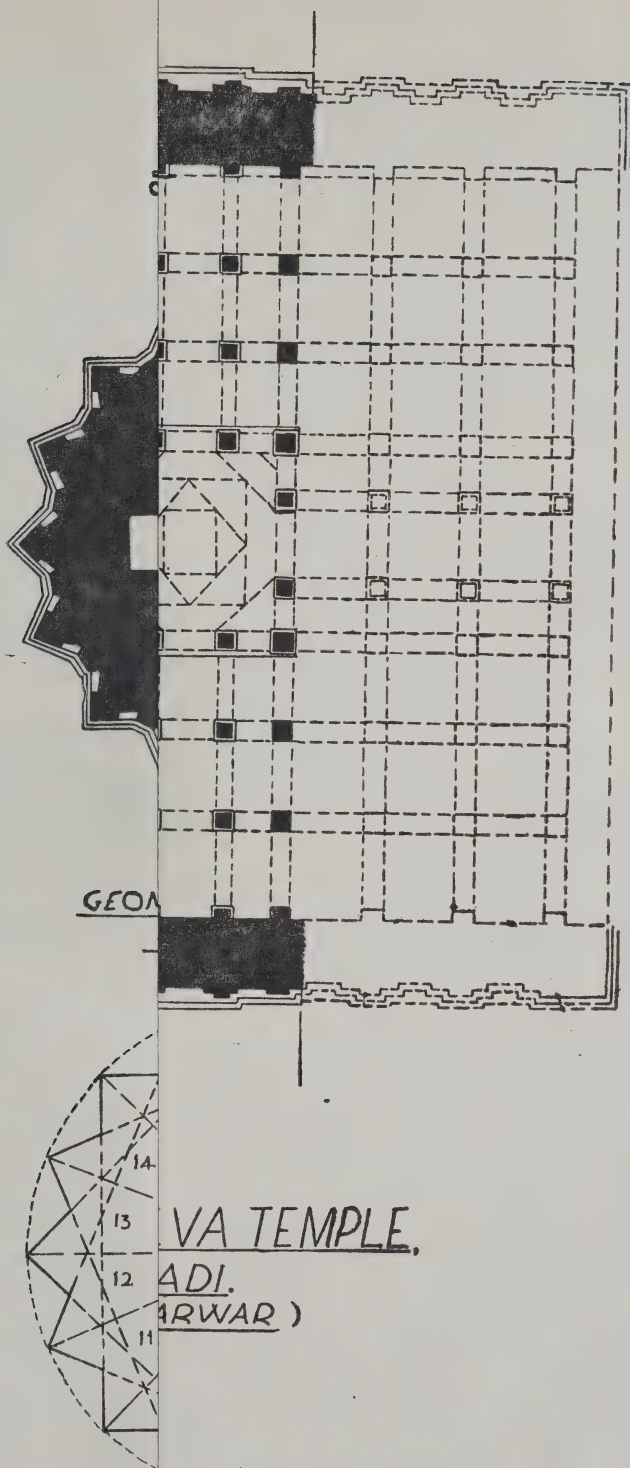


Fig. 2

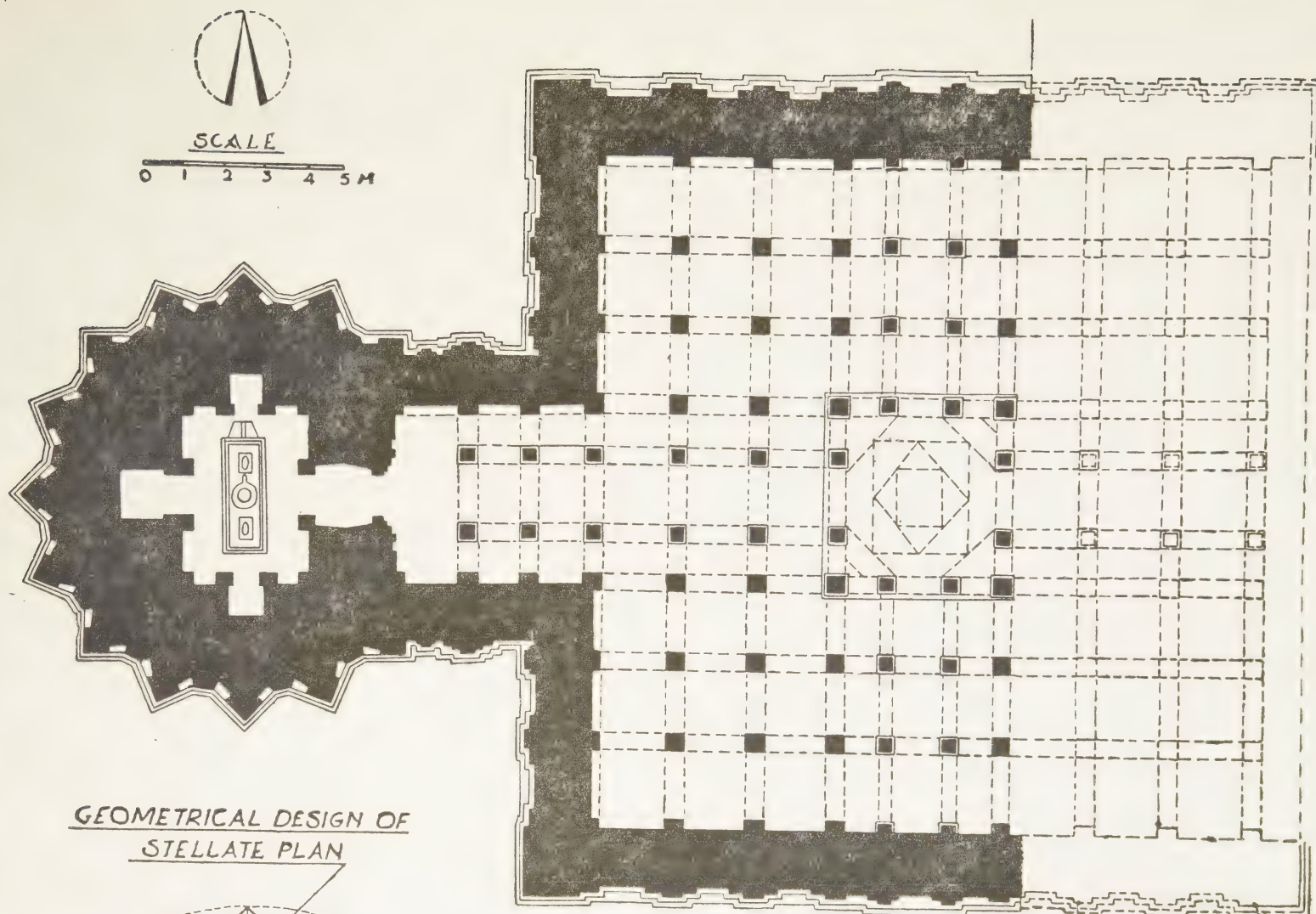
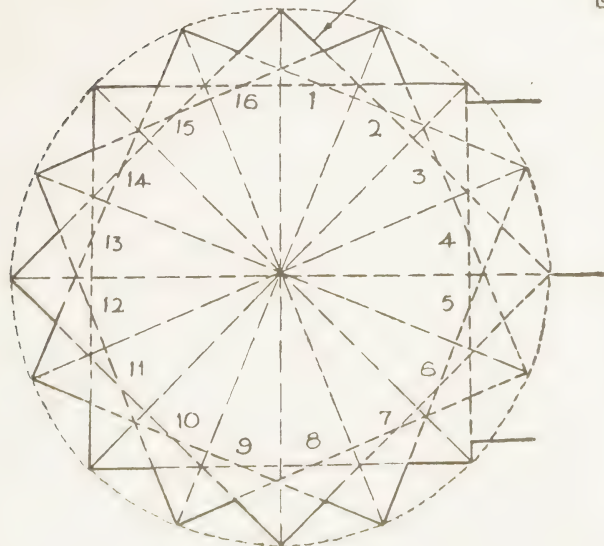


FIG. 2

GEOMETRICAL DESIGN OF  
STELLATE PLAN



BRAHMADEVA TEMPLE,  
SAVADI.  
( DT: DHARWAR )



The Someshvara temple in view of its excessively rich carvings, does not seem to be earlier than that of Dambal. If so, whence did the Hoysalas get the inspiration and example for adapting the stellate plan of the circle type in question? Or as it is generally held by scholars, is the plan their own innovation? Secondly it is constructed that raising a temple on a platform is typically Hoysala<sup>8</sup>. In view of the above problems and observations, some of the temples of the 9th-11th c. A.D. from the region adjoining to Gadag-Lakkundi, examined by me, possess some significant architectural features and are therefore dealt with below.

The region of Ron and Nargund Talukas, Dharwar Dist, is studded with many temples 9th-11th c. A.D. built in red sandstone in many localities. The existences of many of these temples were noticed<sup>9</sup> long ago, but without a follow-up of a serious study of theirs.

Of these temples the Parameshvara temple in Konnur, the Brahmadeva temple in Savadi and the Mallikarjuna, the Jod-Kalashada temples in Sudi are particularly noteworthy in so far as their probable bearing on certain principal architectural features of the Hoysala temples in question is concerned. Fortunately, dated inscriptions referring to the constructions or existences of these temples are available from the respective places.

### **The Parameshvara temple at Konnur:**

The Parameshvara temple, (plate I) at Konnur (Nargund Tk.) on the right bank of the Malaprabha river, is originally a Jina sanctuary as suggested by the Jina bimba of the lalatabimba of the lintel of the door frame of the garbhagriha and from an inscription placed within the temple.

The inscription<sup>10</sup> dated Saka 782 (=860 A.D.) states that Bankeya or Bankesha of Kolanura, subordinate to the king Amoghavarsha I, founded

<sup>8</sup> Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency: Dharwar Dist.

<sup>10</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 25-26. The inscription is placed upright in the right aisle of the sabhamandapa, leaning against the hind wall. At the top is Jina in padmasana with female chowri bearers on either side. The inscription is in Kannada script of 12th c. A.D. The text is divided into two parts. The second part (lines 59-72), says that at the request of Huliymarasa, the mahaprabhu of Kolanura and others, Viranandin had a copper plate which they had seen, rewritten on a stone charter. According to this statement, the first part (lines 1 to 58) is a copy of the copper plate. From a Shravana Belagola inscription it is learnt that Viranandin finished writing of the Achara Sara on the day corresponding to 25th May 1153 A.D.

According to the first part, king Amoghavarsha the successor to Jagattunga, residing at the capital of Manyakheta at the request of his subordinate Bankesha (or Bankeya) and in recognition of his important service, granted the village Taleyura and some lands in other villages, for the benefit of the Jaina sanctuary founded by Bankeya at Kolanura, to the sage Devendra who had been appointed by Bankeya to be in the charge of the sanctuary. Bankeya alias Sellaketana is also known from another inscription of Nidgundi. His son Chellaketana was governing Bankapura in A.D. 897.

a jaina sanctuary. Thus the temple is definitely ascribable to the middle of the 9th c. A.D.

The temple occupies an area of  $27 \times 11$  m. and has now only the plinth of the mukhamandapa with flight of steps in front, a sabhamandapa, an antarala and a garbhagriha along the same principal axis and faces east (Fig.1). From the present state of its preservation, whether the temple had originally a shikhara is not clear.

The mukhamandapa (plate I,1) is approached by a flight of steps of 1-10 m. wide and 1.30 m. long. The Kakshasanas, the pillars and the overhanging kapota and the roof are no more.

The front part of the doorframe area is renovated probably recently. The doorframe has lotus flower in the lalatabimba of the lintel. There are: a frieze of lotus petals rigidly carved and bas-reliefs of lions characteristic of the late medieval-modern period, above the doorframe.

The sabhamandapa, about  $8.45 \times 7.92$  m., has ten pilasters; four canton pilasters and unusually twelve pillars. While the central four pillars have all the usual features, such as pitha, kanda, padmabandha, kalasha, tadi, kumbha, idaje and palaka; the remaining pillars do not have idaje and palaka (plate I,3). Like the pillars, the pilasters do not have the base. The central bay of the ceiling has a bas-relief of lotus flower. In the middle of the side wall each is a small window  $16 \times 20$  cm.

The antarala,  $2.65$  (E-W)  $\times$   $4.05$  (N-S), has two pillars in the façade and two canton pilasters and plain throughout.

The doorframe of the garbhagriha consists of five shakhas on each side without dvarapalas and with a fine bas-relief of Jina with triple chhatris over the head and an attendant on each side in the lalatabimba of the lintel. Above the lintel is the over-hanging kapota.

The garbhagriha,  $3.90 \times 4.00$  m. has four canton pilasters and peculiarly, three niches of 90 cm. width in the walls upto the ceiling. In the niche of the hind wall, is a Shivalinga and a sculpture of Uma-Maheshvara. On the central floor is a Shivalinga on a pitha, now in worship. Behind the pitha of Shivalinga is the original pitha of the Jina, having a figure of seated lion facing frontwards partially in round relief.

The adishthana of the temple consists of four horizontal tiers: upana, Jagati, dislike kumuda and plain kuduvari. The walls are severely plain. The most noteworthy feature is that the garbhagriha is of stellate plan of the circle type, with thirteen apices together from three sides (plate I;2. Fig. 1). Also it is noteworthy that there are no devakoshtha looking the cordinal points, in the middle zone of the walls.

In comparison to the temples of 11th-12th c. A.D. of the Chalukyas of Kalyana in this region, the type of the adishthana (similar to that of Konti temple of circa 8th c. A.D. in Aihole) and of the flanking carved uprights of the flight of steps, the unmoulded pitha of the central pillars and the type of the carbells of the pillars (Plate I;3) the octagonal

pattern of the ceiling of the garbhagriha, the use of more number of pillars in the sabhamandapa and pilasters in the garbhagriha and the sabhamandapa in relation to their areas and the characteristics of the Jina pitha, suggest an earlier date to the temple and thus agree with the dating of the temple, given in the inscription.

*The Brahmadeva temple in Savadi: (Plate II and Fig. 2)*

In this locality, there are two temples: Narayana Deva temple and Brahmadeva temple. The former was originally a Dvikutachala oriented east-west, with a sabhamandapa in between approached by a mukhamandapa each, on the south and north. Now only the garbhagriha on the western side with a fine sculpture of Mahavishnu, the sabhamandapa and the remains of the antarala on the east and of Mukhamandapa on the south, are extant. The northern side is closed. Probably, this is the temple referred to in an inscription<sup>11</sup> leaning against the front wall of the village chavadi, dated in Saka 892 (970 A.D.) belonging to the reign of Kottigadeva. One noteworthy feature in this temple, is the representation of a colossal pilaster crowned with a chaitya type kudu, on the northern exterior wall near the junction of the antarala and the sabhamandapa. A similar feature is found in the corresponding zone of the Keshava temple of Belur.

The Brahmadeva temple renovated during the times of Devaraya II<sup>12</sup>, is probably the same as the one referred to as Mulasthanadeva of a Kannada inscription<sup>13</sup> dated in 7th regnal year of Vikramaditya VI i.e. A.D. 1083 of the locality, registering a grant of land for the benefit of the temple.

The temple comprises of a garbhagriha, an antarala and a spacious sabhamandapa (Fig. 2) together occupying an area of  $25.60 \times 19$  m. Unfortunately the front part of the sabhamandapa was fallen and is badly rennovated by raising mud-wall in the recent times. Only  $2/3$  of the original sabhamandapa, is extant. There are sixteen pilasters, four canton pilasters and forty four central pillars. The pillars are arranged in six rows in east-west direction and in eight rows in the north-south. The first three lines from the front in the N-S direction has six pillars each while the other three rows in the east-west, have six pillars each, while the two rows in the middle, four each.

While the eight innermost central pillars are more decorative having the moulded Pitha, Kanda Padmabandha, kalasha, Tadi, Kumbha, the remaining pillars and the pilasters do not have moulded base, Idaje and Palaka. They are rectangular in the lower part; octagonal in the middle

<sup>11</sup> SII, Vol. XI, pt. I: pp. 25-26.

<sup>12</sup> SII, Vol. XV, pp. 304-5, No. 246.

<sup>13</sup> SII, Vol. XI, pt. II, pp. 150-152, No. 129.



and have Kalasha, Tadi and Kumbha, above. The central bay is irregularly renovated.

The antarala, 4.31 m.  $\times$  4.60 m. has unusually four wall pilasters, two canton pilasters and four central pillars. The ceiling is even and plain.

The doorframe of the garbhagriha has six shakhas on either side without dvarapalas and with finely carved Gajalakshmi in the lalata-bimba of the lintel under the overhanging kapota having hamsavari beneath and six triangular reliefs on the frontal side.

The garbhagriha 4.65 m.  $\times$  3.20 m. is approached from the doorway through a short narrow passage (1.95 m.l.  $\times$  1.50 m.w.) and has six pilasters and six canton pilasters. In the side walls, are rectangular niches. The ceiling slabs are arranged so as to form an octagonal hollow.

On the central floor, is a richly moulded pedestal, 2.90 m.l.  $\times$  70cm. b.  $\times$  55 cm.h. carrying the sculptures of Vishnu, Shivalinga and Brahma thereon with their respective vahanas carved on the frontal side of the pedestal. The images are in worship.

The adhishtana of the temple has six horizontal tiers: upana, Jagati, disclike kumuda, kuduvai, vyalayari and plain tier. As with the temple in Konnur, the garbhagriha is of stellate plan having thirteen apices (Plate II, 2. Fig. 2). The walls of the antarala and the sabhamandapa, are plain and even.

Nevertheless it is a brahmanical temple there are no devakoshas looking the cardinal points in the middle zone of the exterior walls of the garbhagriha.

In the lower zone of the each two consecutive faces of the angular projections and recesses of the walls of the garbhagriha are respectively decorative motifs of double pilasters mounted with shikhara of the Kadamba Nagara type and a single pilaster crowned with shikhara of Kadamba Nagara type each enclosed in arabesque torana. In the upper zone are finely carved miniature figures: Tandva Shiva, Vamana and Trivikrama, dancing couple, a rishi with two disciples, elephant riders, Nritya Ganapati, Narasimha killing Hiranyakashipu, Rati and Manmatha, Bhuvaraha, Gajasura Mardhana, Shiva and Parvati, Hanuman, Vali-Sugriva (?), a gana with face in the stomach etc.

It is noteworthy, here, this scheme and pattern of decorating the walls was almost exactly followed some time later by the Hoysalas but in a reverse order and in an excessively rich and ornate style.

At the top of the wall projects the Kapota of the roof, with hamsavari underside and chaitya type kudus on the frontal side. (Plate II. 3).

Further, abutting the plinth are flagstones remaining here and there on the ground level. Whether these are the remnants of a platform now

concealed in the later debris surrounding it, only excavation on the sides, should reveal. While the iconography of the Brahma and Vishnu in the garbhagriha, the type of adishthana, of the arabasque torana, and the pillar forms bring the temple nearer 12th c. A.D. the use of more number of pilasters, the pattern of the octagonal designed ceiling of the garbhagriha, the niches in the side walls of the garbhagriha and the representation of hamasavari in the underside of the kapota of the roof and the use of red sandstone for the temple—all these features do not find place in the temples of 12th c. A.D. and onwards— suggest the proximity of the temple in date to Narayana Deva temple and Parameshvara temple of Konnur which are assignable to the middle of 9th c. A.D.

Secondly during the 10th-11th c. A.D., it appears that erection of temples for the Trinity (Traipurushalaya), was rather common in this area. In Nidugundi, about 25 Km. south-east of Savadi, there is a Narayana temple originally a Trapurushalaya, having three garbhagrihas for Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, constructed in saka 996 (1074 A.D.) according to an inscription<sup>14</sup> belonging to the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla, Someshvara II, set up in front of the temple. Besides, we have already referred above, to the local inscription dtd. in the 7th regnal year of Vikramaditya VI, mentioning the existence of probably this temple.

Thus in view of the architectural and inscriptional evidences the temple is reasonably ascribable to 10th-11th c. A.D.

### **Narayana Deva Temple, Naregal:**

This temple within the locality is originally a Jaina basadi as evident from the Jinabimba of the lalatabimba of the lintels, the elongated garbhagrihas of the Jaina Tirthankaras and from an inscription set up in front of the village chavadi. The inscription<sup>15</sup> referring to the reign of Akalavarsha Krishna Rajadeva (Krishna III), dated Saka 853 (950 A.D.) registers the gift of a tank by Namayara Narasinghayya made to the danasale attached to the basadi constructed by Padmabbarasi, the queen of Butayya Permadi, a Ganga subordinate to the king, governing Ganga-vadi-96,000.

The extant parts of this temple are: a sabhamandapa with 12 central pillars, with a garbhagriha containing an elongated pedestal having 24 sockets evidently once holding the images of 24 Tirthankaras, on either side; another sabhamandapa with four central pillars; an antarala and a garbhagriha. In relevance to the subject, the noteworthy architectural feature are the different types of the pillars in the front sabhamandapa.

<sup>14</sup> SII, Vol. XV, pp. 2-3, No. 2.

<sup>15</sup> SII, Vol. XI, pt. I, pp. 23-24, No. 38.

One of the types is a pillar relieved into sixteen angular projections, looking like a star on plan.

### **The temples in Sudi:**

The Jod-Kalasha and the Mallikarjuna temples at Sudi have each two inscriptions within the sabhamandapa of the former and on the pillar in front of the latter. One<sup>16</sup> of them in the first, dated saka 932 (1010 A.D.), states the leasing out of certain estates to the Mahajanas of the Brahmapuri of the locality and another,<sup>17</sup> dated saka 981 (1061 A.D.), records the grant of the village Sivanur to Someshvara Panditadeva. The Someshvara Panditadeva is also referred to in another inscription<sup>18</sup> of the locality dated saka 997 (1075 A.D.) recording the gift of a town to him for the benefit of Panchlingadeva probably the same as the Jod-Kalasha temple. The temple therefore was already in existence before 1061 A.D. and probably before 1010 A.D., if the inscriptions are in the original places ever since their set-up. The inscriptions<sup>19</sup> on a pillar in front of the Mallikarjuna temple, refer to a gift of land and its confirmation, dated respectively saka 976 and 980 (1054 A.D.) during the reign of Someshvara I, when Akkadevi was ruling Kisukadu-70 etc. to the God Akkeshvara of probably the present Mallikarjuna temple. Stylistically they are nearer to the dated temples of 9th-10th c. A.D. at Naregal etc.

The Jod-Kalasha temple is dvikutachala oriented E-W with garbhagrihas succeeded by an antarala each, facing each other and a common sabhamandapa in between, approached by a mukhamandapa on either side. The interior of each garbhagriha is provided with three devakosh-tas in the side walls, a feature of note. Secondly, the side walls on the exterior, of the garbhagriha on the eastern cordinal point, is resolved into triangular projections of acute angles resulting in a partial stellate plan of circular type with three apices and partly interlacing rectangles resulting in graduated projections. The plan of the other garbhagriha look like rectangles interlacing at right angles, resulting in a plan of the graduated projections.

The Mallikarjuna temple (28m. × 16 m.) is raised on a platform of 43 m.l. × 20 m.b. × 2½ m. h. providing a pradakshinapatha all round the temple (plate III 2) which again a feature worthy of note. It has a garbhagriha, an antrala, a spacious sabhamandapa with two garbhagrihas on the sides and a fallen mukhamandapa approached by a flight of steps through a torana, facing east. In the N.E. corner of the platform is a

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-47, No. 55.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 90-91, No. 95.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 106, No. 109.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 87, p. 89, Nos. 91 and 93, respectively.



subsidiary shrine for a parivaradevata. Over the central garbhagriha rises the shikhara of the southern vimana type while the other garbhagrihas are without shikharas.

### **The Shambulinga temple in Ittagi:**

This temple consists of a garbhagriha, antarala, sabhamandapa and a spacious sabhamandapa. In particular, the sabhamandapa with Kakshasanas and open sides and resolved on plan into graduated projections, has in all six varieties of pillars, (Plate III,1). One of them looks as if it is made up of eight small round pillars, thus being eight-lobed on plan.

Like the other temples briefly described above, this temple also is built in red sandstone and architecturally, of the same age as the others.

### **Conclusions:**

Thus the above architectural analysis of some of the temples in Ron and Nargund region show that while certain basic architectural features of the early Chalukyan traditions reflected in the mouldings of the plinth, provision of the more number of pillars, the structural pattern of the bays of the ceilings; in the continuation of the kapota with hamsavari, the types of shalas and kutas of each tala of the shikhara, and in the imposing nature and sturdy character, are continued with slight changes certain new features and forms were introduced here and there during this period such as: the erection of a platform, the stellate plan of the circular type, the division of the walls into two zones lower and upper for display of artistic motifs and the representation of a colossal pilaster of wall height and superb workmanship; and the provision of pillars of the star shape on plan, of the forms as if lathe-turned, of multi-lobed form etc; of devakosthas in the interior side walls of the garbhagrihas; the mukhamandapa resolved into graduated projections and the dvikutachala form of temples.

Now in a similar way if we analyse the architectural components of the Hoysala temples of the class of Belur Chenna Keshava, a typical and the best example, we find that the ideas of all the new features introduced in the 9th-11th c. A.D. temples have been taken over by the architect who had obviously inherited or was grounded in the early Chalukyan tradition, under the patronage of the Hoysalas and suitably elaborated them in accordance with the demands of the age. He preferred these ideas as they would provide enormous scope for displaying sculptors' inexhaustible genius in carving exuberantly and minutely, varied themes. He therefore provided the platform the sides of which could also be relieved into many horizontal mouldings for minute carvings, on which

the temple was raised; used the stellate plan and the graduated projections for the garbhagriha and the sabhamandapa respectively that would provide maximum number of facets for the sculptors' work and carried over the plan of the garbhagriha and the Sabhamandapa even to the platform in exactly the same manner and that of the former upto the stupi of the shikhara. He employed the scheme of the two zones of the walls, the colossal pilaster motif at the junction of the antarala and the sabhamandapa; the multi-faceted or lobed forms of pillars and the other types and the devakosthas, in the corresponding places in the exterior walls and in the sides of the platform. Thus he gathered together and very dexterously synthesised all these features into a perfect form of a temple of distinctive type and thus made them the stylistic characteristics of the Hoysala architecture. The Belur Chennakeshava temple is a typical illustrative instance in this regard. It is now, therefore, evident, that the ideas of platform, stellate plan of the circle type etc, etc. are already rooted in the early tradition displayed in the temples of 9th-10th c. A.D. i.e. the Rashtrakuta times in the Krishna-Malaprabha valley. The Hoysala architect only appropriated them; elaborately synthesised and made them the distinctive characteristics, of his temples.

Incidentally speaking, in the process of the cultural amalgamations of the various neighbouring royal dynasties: the Hoysalas in the south, the Kalyana Chalukyas in the north and the Shilaharas in the western Deccan, in the 11th-12th c. A.D., seem to have been inspired by these early traditions of the Krishna valley and adapted them in their own ways. In particular the Chalukyas of Kalyana normally preferred the plan of the graduated projections and the Dodda Basavanna temple of the stellate plan of the circle type is an exception. The temples of Mahadeva at Ittagi, the Kalleshvana at Kukkanur, the Kashivishveshvara at Lakkundi on the one hand, the Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur, the Ambaranatha temple in Kalyana near Bombay are the typical instances of the Kalyana Chalukyas and the Shilaharas respectively.

### **Acknowledgements:**

I am extremely grateful to Sri S. K. Joshi, Archaeological Survey of India, who actually accompanied me to the sites and prepared the line-drawings of figures 1 and 2 very well and to my wife, Smt. Bhagyalakshmi Sundara who neatly typed the paper.

---

**Note:** The above paper was read in the Seminar on 'Hoysala Dynasty' organised by the Dept. of History under the auspices of the University of Mysore and the U.G.C., in December, 18th-20th, 1970. Its summary is published in the book, **Hoysala Dynasty**, published by the Mysore University, in 1972.

# LAND SUCCESSION IN MEDIAEVAL KARNĀṬAKA

G. R. KUPPUSWAMY

## Introduction:

OF THE various problems connected with Land System<sup>1</sup>, it is proposed to consider in this paper the question of Land Succession in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka, roughly covering the period C.1000 to 1336. At the outset a statement of the Laws of Inheritance, which the theoretical texts of the time sanctioned for the region, will be made. This will be followed up by an examination of records—lithic and copper plate inscriptions—of the time, to indicate the points of similarity and difference from the theoretically accepted position.

## Theoretical Position:

According to the System of Succession<sup>2</sup> which prevailed in Karnāṭaka, all property of the joint-family, whether immovable or otherwise, was subject to partition, except separate property<sup>3</sup> which was regarded as impartible. This meant that the father could dispose of self-acquired property according to his choice.

The *Mitākṣara* details the line of succession in the following manner. Except in the case of the self-acquired property, the son, grandson and great-grandson succeeded consecutively, to the property of the deceased. If a person died without any male issue, the lawfully wedded wife, the daughters, daughter's sons, parents, brothers, their sons, *gōtrajas*, *bandhus*, a pupil, a fellow-student, on failure of each preceding one, each succeeding one was entitled to the property<sup>4</sup>. Failing all the above claimants, a *Srōtriya Brahmin* in the same village or any *Brahmin* could inherit such properties. It was made applicable to all *varṇas*. In case there was no claimant at all, the king could acquire by *escheat*, heirless property excluding that of a *Brahmin*<sup>5</sup>, after setting apart a portion for the maintenance of the concubines and servants, and for the performance of funeral rites and *śrāddhas* of the deceased. In the case of succession to Śtri-

<sup>1</sup> Under Land-System may be considered problems such as ownership and tenure, succession, settlement of disputes and trustees.

<sup>2</sup> Of the two systems of succession, with the exception of Bengal, all parts of India came under *Mitākṣara*. Only Bengal was under *Dāyabhāga*. A detailed discussion of the two systems, the points of difference and similarity have been discussed by Kane in *History of Dharmasāstra*, III cha. 26 and 29.

<sup>3</sup> Kane, *HDS*, III, ch. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Kane, *HDS*, III, p. 701 fn. 1341.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 762, also fn. 1463.



dhana<sup>6</sup> preference was given to daughters and if the owner died sonless, her husband was entitled to the property. If the daughter was unmarried it devolved on the brother (full), the mother and father. As regards slaves, Kauṭilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of slave were his relatives and if none of them existed, the master acquired it<sup>7</sup>.

*Evidence of Inscriptions:* Keeping the above theoretical background in view, it will be worthwhile to examine the inscriptions of the time to consider the extent to which Inheritance Laws were followed in actual practice and to note deviations, if any, from them.

(a) It is clear from an inscription of 1140 from the Hassan District that the slaves had the right to inherit property. It relates to the grant of land with the stipulation that the land may descend to the children of female slaves<sup>8</sup>.

(b) Whenever a piece of property was sold, the consent of the near and dear relatives was taken. It is on record that one Hegde's son Ballāḷa sold a piece of land to one Vaidya, Devapiḷḷaiyaṇṇa at Mosale, after obtaining the consent of his wife, son, relatives, dependents and heirs<sup>9</sup>.

(c) There are a couple of inscriptions which throw sufficient light on the question of the disposal of property of those who died sonless. An inscription<sup>10</sup> from Kittanahalli, Bangalore District, dated 1330, details as below the succession among cultivating class which was approved by Hoysala Viraballāḷa: 'If any one among them died without children, his elder or younger brothers were to have possession. If there were no such relatives, the property, was to go to such work of charity as the cultivators would decide. Any transgression of the rules of this caste, cultivators will enquire into and punish the offenders'. The inscription in question does not give details of the entire line of succession. To quote the text: '*makkalilladiddaḍe aṇṇatammandirge saluvudu aṇṇatam-mandiru illadiddaḍe aḷiya mammāgaḷige saluvudu ivarāru nil... ā holaṇi dharmakke saluvudu*'. The term *makkalilladiddaḍe* may mean failure of male children only. For otherwise, it is difficult to explain how the son-in-law (*aḷiya*) and grand-daughter (*mammagaḷige*) get into the order of succession. Contrary to the scriptures, (*Mitakṣara*) the above regulations give preference to brothers and son-in-law over the wives and daughters' children of the deceased respectively. The term son-in-

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. 33 for detailed discussion of the definition of *stri-dhana*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> *EC*, V (ii), Bl. No. 219, pp. 341-2, Text-*avana tottina makkalige bhūmi saluvudu*.

<sup>9</sup> *EC*, V (ii), AK No. 9 pp. 359-60 (Text) i, p. 115 (Trans); also see *Ibid* No. 58 (i) p. 760 (Text) i, p. 254 (Trans) ; *EC* III (i) Sr. No. 110, p. 30 (Trans).

<sup>10</sup> *EC*, IX, NI No. 12, p. 59 (Text), p. 52 (Trans).

law may refer either to daughter's husband or sister's son (*aliya*). In case the term *aliya* stands for sister's son, it speaks of the system of *aliya santānakattu*.

A second point of note here is that the entire line of succession is not gone through in the record in question. After the failure of grandson, the property is to be given to the temple as charity, after taking the consent of cultivators.

A second inscription<sup>11</sup> from Kōṭavumachgi states that only 1/10 of the property of those dying sonless is to be used for tank there. It has thereby underlined the scriptural injunction that only a part of the property can be put for any public purpose, the rest being used for the performance of rites. A third inscription from Baḷligāve dated 1181 outlines the procedure to be followed in the case of the properties of *baṇajigas* of the place, who die sonless. It will be interesting to note that the decisions were taken in an assembly of great men including the royal officers to be enforced by *mummuridaṇḍas*. As the inscription states, all the property of *baṇajigas* of Baḷligāve dying without sons, (to go) for the festival or sacred rites of God Gavareśvara, the property of those who die without sons in the *nagara*, three *purās* and seven *brahmapuris*, in which unclaimed property accrues to the God of that quarter<sup>12</sup>—a very satisfactory arrangement indeed—emphasising perhaps regional jurisdiction of God's authority.

Another and a more elaborate inscription of Kālachūris throws additional light on the question of succession and disposal of heirless property. It comes from Mangōḷi and is dated 1178. It states, 'If any one should die without sons, his wife, female children, divided parents and their children... and any kinsmen and relatives of the same *gōtra* should take possession of all his property such as bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grain, house and fields; if none such should survive, (and) the authorities of the village should make over that property, as religious grant to those who hold the grant of God'.<sup>13</sup> From a close examination of the record in question the following points emerge:

(i) While scripture is followed closely in outlining the line of succession, *dauhitras* i.e. daughter's son and *bandhus* who belong to different *gotras* (*binnaḡōtra*) are excluded and immediately after the

<sup>11</sup> EI, XX, No. 6, pp. 64-70 *aputrika dravyada das'a vandadolu puṭṭida dravyamum*.

<sup>12</sup> EC, VIII (i), Sk. No. 119-221 (Text).

<sup>13</sup> EI, V, No. 3C, pp. 26-28—Text *managa vaḷḷiyōl aputrakaru sattar appad avara dvipadi chatuspadi dhana dhānya griha—kshetram enib initumam ātana strī mukhyavāgi hengūsu makkaḷu vibhaktarāda tangi tande aṇṇa tammandir avara makkaḷu a gilū jnāta gōtra ant avar olaḡ āru iddaḍ iddavara kaḷedu kombar ant—anivar olaḡ āru illadidda (r-a) ppad ā dhanamam dēva dāyi gaḷige dharma dattavāgi kuḍuvuru*.

failure of sons, wife and female children, the property reverts to paternal relatives.

(ii) In keeping with the scriptures, preference is given in the inscription to parents, brothers and their children, who have divided themselves i.e. separated themselves from joint-family. It has revealed the fact that when the family is not divided the property evidently remains within the fold of the joint-family. It may be recalled here that the scriptures merely mention parents and brothers in the line of succession but the inscription has further clarified the position.

(iii) The word *stri* invariably stands for lawfully wedded wife and not to any other women kept by the deceased for whom separate provision was made and they were not in any case entitled to a place in the line of succession.

(iv) The inscription refers to both immovable and movable property.

(v) A redeeming feature in this and other inscriptions examined so far, is that in practice the property of those who were issueless would be donated to the temple or put to any other public use. The manner of the disposal of the property is not indicated in the theoretical scriptures quoted above.

(d) Of the other lithic records referring to the line of succession, a Hoysala inscription from Mysore District dated 1265 states exhaustively thus, 'The property of those who die without children should go to elder brother, younger brother,<sup>14</sup> father's elder brother or their children'. The inscription extends the line of succession to include son-in-law and father-in-law while the wife and daughter have no place. Son-in-law is preferred to daughter and father-in-law puts in his claim, perhaps as a *bandhu*. *Gōtrajas* and *dāyavādins* have preponderating influence over others, in keeping with *patriarchal* system.

(e) Another curious inscription from Bangalore District states<sup>15</sup> 'If there is a *tammaḍi* or priest, the elder brother's property will go to the younger brother and younger brother's property to elder brother. If there is no elder or younger brother, the nearest relatives and children by female servants will have the chief claim. If there are no such, the childless ones' (property) will be given to temple. If there is no provision for *tammaḍi* without the payment or any others, free from all imposts, a fair will be established in that Mugulāṇḍanahalli, as a city for *nānādesi*'s to continue'.

A few points of clarification are required to be made here. The term *oḍave* is used in the inscription which evidently stands for movable

<sup>14</sup> *EC*, III (i), Tn. No. 21, p. 212 (Text), p. 70 (Trans).

<sup>15</sup> *EC*, II, Cp. No. 73, p. 324 (Text), p. 146 (Trans).



property. The phrase '*aṇṇana oḍave tammage tammana oḍave aṇṇage*' implies that if the elder brother is survived by the younger brother, the latter inherits the former's property and *vice versa*. In two other respects the inscription is interesting. It gives importance to female servants and their children who do not find a place even in the scriptural injunctions, a very healthy modification of the rules. In the second place, the reference to the establishment of a fair out of the proceeds of heirless property appears to be another purpose for which such properties were put to use. The provisions regarding *tammaḍi* or perhaps priest is to ensure proper management of property, entrusted to the care of the temple.

(f) A tinge of *Matriarchal* system of succession is seen in inscriptions from Coorg and other parts of North Karnāṭaka, perhaps reminding us of the *āliya santānakattu* and of its prevalence in Karnāṭaka even earlier than in Tuḷuva country where it had struck deep roots. One of them from Kundoor,<sup>16</sup> Coorg, states, 'It will belong to a female, female children and to children of female slaves'. Another inscription from the same region, permits the succession of property by female descendants in the absence of male issues. An interesting inscription belonging to Kōlāra family referred to by Fleet,<sup>17</sup> records that when Mādiraja was killed in battle his only surviving elder sister (?daughter) Bijjavve succeeded to the lordship immediately. She appears to have treated Gouri (relationship not clear) as her daughter (Fleet says, daughter) and got her married to one Mallikārjuna and the *estate* was given as dowry to her. Mallikārjuna was evidently the son-in-law of Bijjavve and the property of Mādiraja referred to above descended through sister's descendants.

(g) *Partition deed*: A unique inscription almost a partition deed from Bantēnahaḷli, Belur, dated 1244 outlines the partition of a temple property or properties on the death of one Sōmajīya of Būchēśwara temple, among his relatives. The partition, effected in the presence of and by *Rājaguru* Chandrabūshana and 120 *Sthāṇikas* at Dōrasamudra<sup>18</sup> was based on sound principles of succession and represented the ideal, for, both the daughter and wife of the deceased are given their due shares. Similarly, the wife and son are entitled to a greater share (together 2/3) while daughter, her husband and their sons get only 1/3. It will be interesting to know that partition, though inevitable, was kept to a minimum.

Another inscription from Hantūr, Kadur District, dated 1188<sup>19</sup> supplies a curious instance of equal division of property between sons

<sup>16</sup> EC, IX, Sup. Cg. No. 59, p. 12 (Text), p. 177 (Trans) *heṇṇige heṇṇu makkaḷige tottina makkaḷige saluvudu*.

<sup>17</sup> JBBRAS, X, p. 177.

<sup>18</sup> EC, XV, Bl. No. 325, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> EC, VI, Mg. No. 24, p. 249 (Text), p. 63 for details.

and daughters, but which was followed by tragic happenings. One Macha (left) in Hannivur for his son and daughter, land valued at 1000 *honnu*. Both dead, through hatred, the daughter's sons encroached upon the lands of son's children. While the inscription corroborated the scriptures on the liberal side, it did not go unchallenged in practice.

(h) A curious instance of Coparcenary right<sup>20</sup> is provided by an inscription from North Karnāṭaka.

### Conclusion:

A consideration of the above evidences leads to the following important conclusions:

- (a) The Order of Succession mentioned in the scriptures was generally followed in practice. Here and there some changes are noticed.
- (b) Women and female children are given their due share and in the case of female property, succession restricted to females.
- (c) Slaves and servants particularly female, are not deprived of their shares in the property.
- (d) The property of those who died sonless was put to public use—in service of temples, tanks or establishment of fairs. Of course care was taken to set apart a portion of it only, for such uses.
- (e) The rules of succession were framed and enforced in a constitutional manner, after being approved by the king.
- (f) Coparcenary rights were entertained.

<sup>20</sup> *KI*, II, No. 16, p. 62 ff.; See P. V. Kane, *HDS*, III, p. 561, p. 591, fn. 1116 and p. 592 ff. for an explanation of Coparcenary rights.

## BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN W. SPANIER, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, (Frederick A Praeger Publishers, New York, 1968), Third revised edition, pp. 305.

The foreign policy of the United States like that of any other state, is shaped to a great extent by its past history, traditions and geographical considerations, by its dynamic political and social system, by its huge military-industrial complex, by its effective and relative power position, by the policies other nations pursue towards it and by a highly complex world environment.

The author attempts to bring under one cover several perspectives of American foreign policy. It is the purpose of the book under review to analyse the Post-Second World War American foreign policy. John Spanier's book is divided into nine chapters consisting of three hundred and five pages.

The first chapter examines the American approach to foreign policy. Professor Spanier traces this approach to the impact of past history and traditions. The avoidance of foreign entanglements, the heavy emphasis on the spirit of freedom (democracy), depreciation of power politics, the Monroe Doctrine, freedom of the seas and the Open Door, are part and parcel of the experience of the early formative years of the Republic. With this background the United States entered the twentieth century 'with a relative unawareness of the role that power plays in the relations among nations' (p. 15). Dr. Spanier argues that its history and traditions have had a decisive impact, and these did not provide a sound basis on which it could tackle foreign policy issues in the contemporary world.

Chapters two, three and four deal with the beginning of the cold war and the American response, with a policy of 'containment' of communist expansion in different areas of the world. The policy of containment was the product of a series of reactions to events, rather than initiation of desirable changes. The doctrine of containment was formulated by George Kennan. He suggested that the Soviet challenge was based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which posits the inevitable antagonism between 'capitalism' and 'socialism'. He argued that if America accepted the challenge and reacted wisely, the nation would be able to meet successfully Soviet expansionism. The Marshall Plan proved a great success in stemming the tide of communism in Europe. While Truman characteristically committed American forces in Korea in the belief that if communist aggression was not stopped where it started, Russia and Communist China would be encouraged in their aggressive designs throughout Eurasia. In their zeal to contain communism in Asia and Europe, the Americans established the NATO, SEATO, ANZUS and



CENTO. This 'pactomania', I feel, was the result of a failure to recognise the proper dimensions of overseas commitments. The containment of communism does not necessarily support the conclusion that United States should enter into defence commitments with a large number of nations. The new world order that is in the making cannot be successfully influenced by an American policy which seeks merely the containment of communist expansion. Chinese and Russian threats and aggression must be squarely and boldly resisted, no doubt, but the United States should take advantage of the opportunities to shape and guide international relations in the desired direction of order, justice and freedom. The United States as the leader of the Western bloc of nations must not attempt merely to stop expansion of communist power and influence, but to take realistic steps to extend the frontiers of freedom throughout the world. A multi-pronged attack in this direction would include spiritual, economic, political, social and psychological policies to foster the spirit of liberty, justice and well-being. The United States should provide massive economic aid to under developed areas to ensure their political and economic stability. The compulsions of a nuclear age, constrain the United States to devise methods of co-operating and containing the Soviet Union. To the extent U.S. national interests are served, there is no harm in co-operating with the Soviet Union to evolve a more stable world order. Further, the United States should take advantage of the Russian fear of potential Chinese strength and China being afraid of Russia. The Sino-American rapprochement and the growing political and economic ties between the Soviet Union and the U.S. have created the feeling in both the Chinese and the Russian that each one of them is trying to undermine the other. The new American policy of exploiting the divisive forces in the Sino-Soviet bloc is bound to pay rich dividends. The policy of containment had many defects: 'It was a negative policy, it surrendered the initiative to the enemy, it merely reacted to counter the communist danger wherever and whenever the latter chose to attack; it was so costly that it would bankrupt the country; and it aimed only at preserving the *status quo*' (p. 109).

Chapter five deals with Republican foreign policy which promised to do away with the communist menace by the strategy of 'frontiersmanship'. Dulles was the foremost and most aggressive exponent of this policy, culminating in his policy of 'brinkmanship'.

Chapter six deals with the recurring crisis over West Berlin from 1958 to 1962, plus the Cuban missile crisis. Despite overwhelming retaliatory power of the United States, the Soviet Union, whenever it thought that circumstances were good, did not hesitate to raise international tensions to compel the United States to make unilateral concessions.

The purpose of chapter VII is to examine the nature of American-Soviet competition in the Third World. Professor Spanier very brilliantly brings out the political and Socio-economic conditions prevailing in the underdeveloped countries of the World. In an insightful analysis into the nature and functions of these traditional societies and the peculiar difficulties these nations face, the author clearly recommends the type of policies to be followed by the United States in the Third World.

In these societies economic deprivation manifest in sporadic violence (alienation, anomie etc.). This in turn leads to political instability. But the submission is that economic deprivation may be a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition in itself to explain this phenomenon. The causes of violence (vandalism and senseless destruction of property and life) are many. The root causes of violence in underdeveloped countries, it seems to me, are socio-cultural and historical factors. In traditional societies, the role of religion is of crucial significance. Customs and traditions, have an equally dominant position in the lives of these people. The societies are in a transitional stage. The ancient way of life is gradually but certainly giving way, so as to be in tune with modernity and all that it implies. In the process of change-over from the ancient to the modern, leaving the past behind and planning for a hopeful future, conflictual situations tend to develop in most of these societies. Traditional social institutions are always resistant to change, but, change being the condition of societies, invariably causes disequilibrium in the system. In other words, it is not just a question of economic progress, for, the issue of the transformation of the entire social system, is involved. Old values and ideals, customs, mores and superstitions have to be given up altogether or modified in the light of the prevailing realities. Such is the process whereby pressures are generated and led to tensions and violence in these societies.

Apart from the socio-cultural factors, the significance of historical factors cannot be ignored. Underdeveloped countries were at one time or another in their history under colonial rule. By and large, the fight for freedom from colonial bondage was never peaceful. The people, therefore, were oriented to take to violent means to do away with colonial rule. Opposition to colonial rule meant resistance to authority of an alien people. Now when these countries got freedom the earlier practice of hostility to all authority was just carried over. Whether there was a nationalistic government or colonial authority did not make any difference to the people as such. They continued to express their resentment of authority by sporadic violence. This by and large explains the high violence potential in developing areas, apart from the economic factors which are important but do not explain fully the causes of violence. All this leads to political instability and chaos in the Third World countries. Such being the motivating forces in these areas, American foreign

policy towards the developing countries essentially focuses on economic aid only. What is necessary for a realistic and effective policy towards the Third World is to recognise the crucial significance of 'social politics'. Only then can the U.S. get meaningful results in its relations with the developing countries of the world.

Chapter VIII deals with polycentrism in a bipolar world. The author contends that a 'multipolar balance seemed preferable. The greater the diffusion of the power in the society of states, the larger the number of built-in restraints, and hence, the lower international tensions are likely to be' (pp. 227-28). Unfortunately, this does not seem to be true. The chances of war by miscalculation and accident appear to be greater, not less, in a multipolar situation if some power was less equal to the task of maintaining world peace.

The author comments that, 'it is frequently argued that internal changes resulting primarily from economic growth will lead to a more cautious and restrained foreign policy' (p. 259). There is no doubt about the primacy of internal factors in the determination of a country's foreign policy. This does not mean that systemic factors have no influence. After all systemic influences are reflected through their impact on internal factors. Contemporary literature on foreign policy has unduly put emphasis on systemic factors. Some writers go to the extent of primarily explaining foreign policy in terms of systemic factors. Dr. Spanier is correct in drawing our attention to the importance of internal factors in the formulation of foreign policy of the United States.

The final chapter deals with the American policy in Vietnam. It could be argued that the Vietnam entanglement was mainly due to indiscriminate involvement in external problems, and in some respects this impression is doubtless correct. In the name of Universalism, non-selective involvement abroad became the order of the day. This argument constituted an attack against the idea that the United States had interest in one way or another in every part of the globe. In other words, a case was being made for dividing the world into spheres of influence.

In Vietnam, the Americans committed their forces to a relatively conventional military solution. However, the special requirements of a counter-insurgency campaign and the need to win the hearts and minds of the peasants in South Vietnam were woefully neglected. Though the Americans deployed a first class fighting force in Vietnam, their lack of experience in 'social politics' undermined their military efforts.

Now that the Vietnam war is coming to a close, a large number of questions arise. What are the lessons of the Vietnam war? What constitutes a viable American posture in South-east Asia? Will American continue to discharge its obligations as a Pacific Power? What should be the American response to the dynamic political and socio-economic



changes in this area? Will the United States commit ground troops in Asia in the future? If the answer is in the affirmative, under what conditions and circumstances will it do so? Will the experience of the past force the United States to redefine its strategic interests for the 1970's? Will the United States withdraw into semi-isolationism by looking inwards, which will result in less external involvement? What then will be America's capacity to formulate alternate choices and actions in response to world wide communist challenge? Whatever the degree of success or failure of U.S. foreign policy, the U.S. will nevertheless continue to be saddled during this decade with substantial unilateral responsibilities. These unilateral responsibilities should nevertheless be held within the narrowest compass consistent with existing treaty commitments and with 'vital' interests strictly defined.

There are two mistakes, one typographical and the other factual. On page 35 it is written as 'that is was' instead of 'that it was'. On page 294 the author mentions the Indo-Pak War as having occurred in 1964 instead of 1965.

As an overall assessment of the study, one can say that generally the book is uneven in approach though individual subjects are effectively and interestingly handled. The first six chapters of the book do not add anything new to our knowledge and understanding of the problems pertaining to American foreign policy. The final three chapters are very informative and illuminating. These chapters put a mass of information in a highly readable form, but no less illuminating in their import and significance. For chapters seven, eight and nine made out a convincing case with reasoned argument for America's role in Vietnam, its policy towards the Third World, and its relations with the Soviet Union and China.

The selective bibliography at the end is useful, but the lack of footnote references detracts from the scholarly qualities of the book. Although this book has little to say that is new, its great strengths lie in that it has something for everybody.

V. T. PATIL

GEOFFREY BOLTON, *Britain's Legacy Overseas*, Oxford University Press, London Oxford New York 1973. Pages 168. Price: P.65 net in U.K.

Professor Bolton's book is the result of a year's study leave utilized at the University of Kent in the stimulating and creative fellowship of a number of experts and professors. Besides the introduction, numbered references, a note on further reading and index, the book consists of five chapters entitled Motives for Empire; Lines of Communication; Spirit, Mind and Culture; Patterns of Government; and Sinews of Empire. The author's main thesis is broad and generally

acceptable enough from the standpoint of western liberal democracy: the British have left in their erstwhile overseas colonies the valuable legacy of democratic ideas and institutions, language, literature and culture and this intellectual and cultural legacy is far more important and worth-cherishing than the historical circumstances or stages of, say, the East India Company handing over the controls of India to the British empire, Disraeli striving to protect the land and naval routes to the east or the British retaining a kind of French influence in the political setup of Canada. A look at the text and a note on further reading will also reveal that the author has laid under contribution many of the latest materials, events, doctrines, illustrations, etc. (right down to Prof. K. Busia of Ghana, R. K. Narayan, Dom Moraes, Ved Mehta, and Bangla Desh).

From the non-democratic or non-liberal western standpoint the author's thesis may not be viewed kindly. The communists or the socialists who regard with Lenin imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism with all the pernicious features are going to find Bolton's account unconvincing and unacceptable. The author quotes approvingly an Indian writer, Balchandran Rajan, to say that the presence of two cultures (the Indian and the British) in one's mind forms a wider and therefore saner base on which originated the quest for identity, etc. Despite the Indian quotation the thinking Indians who value today the overall goals of Indianization and modernization of everything, including their attitude, philosophy and theories, may not find this contention of the author or Mr. Rajan convincing or acceptable. It is like saying that complications are good because you have a chance to find out what is what. The work contains several such sympathetic statements which, given their extralogical content, are of course defensible as they are accompanied by a number of qualifications and reservations and other validating devices. Students as well as general readers may find this handy, compact volume useful for a clear, lucid and sympathetic account of Britain's overseas legacy.

R. T. JANGAM

## OTHER JOURNALS OF THE UNIVERSITY

- (1) Journal of the Karnatak University—SCIENCE (Annual)
- (2) Journal of the Karnatak University—HUMANITIES (Annual)

### RATE OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FOR EACH JOURNAL

Rs. 5	(in India)
2 Dollars	} Foreign
14 Shillings	

Copies of the back issues of Science, (Nos. 1 to 17) Humanities (Nos. 1 to 16) and Social Sciences (Nos. 1 to 8) Journals are available for sale.

Remittances should be sent to the Registrar, Karnatak University, Dharwar-3, either by M.O. or in the form of postal payment order or by Demand Draft payable at Dharwar.



## TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors are requested to submit two clean typed copies with double spacing with a margin of at least 2". The manuscript should be submitted in completed form exactly as the author wishes it to appear finally in print. A copy of the manuscript should be preserved by the author till the publication of the paper.

Diacritical marks should be used where necessary. Footnotes should be serially numbered.

Line drawings drawn in Indian ink or photographs may be sent to illustrate the contributions.

Contributions from persons not connected with the University may also be accepted for publication.

When an article appears in the Journal, the copyright becomes the joint property of the author or authors and the Karnatak University.

Authors of original papers will be supplied free of charge 50 copies of off-prints of their articles and a copy of the Journal wherein the article appears.

Contributors are informed that when galley proofs are sent to them, delay in returning corrected proofs may involve exclusion of their articles from the Journal.















UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 125172780